

In These Times

INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

July 22, 2002

No Limits

More women should
be entering politics.
What's wrong? What's next?

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In These Times

INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

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Editorial

No Questions Asked

The Bush administration has exploited the 9/11 attacks to sanction all actions under the cloak of an impending threat. With little public debate, the White House expanded the domestic spying powers of federal agencies, and it proposed legislation (and imposed regulations) that cater to the administration's corporate sponsors. The end result: collateral damage to both civil liberties and the ideals of an open and democratic government.

In January, with American troops fighting in Afghanistan, President Bush proposed upping military spending by \$48 billion for 2003, a 14 percent increase over the Cold War average. Total U.S. military expenditures will then exceed the combined military budgets of the next 25 countries on the list.

Having spent more than \$20 million on candidates for federal office between January 1999 and March 2002, with 66 percent of that money going to Republicans, the top 20 military contractors certainly got a good return on their investment. Their stock prices have soared. But the majority of Americans, who give no political contributions, will see domestic programs that affect their everyday lives slashed to make room for the Pentagon bloat. This seems a topic worthy of public discussion.

Likewise, in late May, the Natural Resources Defense Council released documents, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, that detail the workings of Vice President Dick Cheney's energy task force. The documents show that the task force allowed 103 industry consultants to write the nation's energy and environmental policies. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, those 103 people represented corporations that funneled more than \$85 million to candidates for federal office between January 1999 and March 2002, with 65 percent of that money going to Republicans.

The mainstream media paid little attention to this hard evidence that the White House had let corporations to write their own legislation. And all was forgotten by June 13, when the administration rolled back clean air regulations, allowing many of those same corporations to increase the amount they pollute (and profit). Sen. James Jeffords (I-Vermont) called this deregulation a "devastating defeat for public health and our environment."

Meanwhile, in the face of mounting criticism that the White House, FBI and CIA had bungled their handling of warnings of an al-Qaeda attack, the administration granted

those same intelligence agencies increased domestic spying powers—erasing the reforms of the past 30 years. And it preempted a national debate by announcing a massive reorganization of the federal security apparatus under the new Department of Homeland Security. We are at war. The homeland must be made secure. No questions asked.

One of the great propagandists of the 20th century explained it this way: "Naturally the common people don't want war. ... It is the leaders of a country who determine the policy. ... The people can always be brought to do the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the peacemakers for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country."

That was Hermann Goering, testifying at his trial in Nuremberg.

Of course, Goering had the advantage of operating in Nazi Germany, where the media was tightly controlled. In the United States we have freedom of the press. Yet since 9/11, our national media appear to have abdicated their role as a public watchdog.

As CBS News anchor Dan Rather admitted in a BBC interview earlier this year, American reporting of the War on Terrorism "is far less critical than the coverage in most other places in the world." America's allies should be concerned by this absence of national debate, this "lack of questioning," said Rather, who added

"All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the peacemakers for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger."

that that he hoped "we'll begin to question what we are doing."

Thomas Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence that people secure "certain unalienable rights" by forming governments that derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." However, he added, "when ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government."

Or at the very least, as Rather advises, we must begin to honestly question what that government is doing.

—Joel Bleifuss

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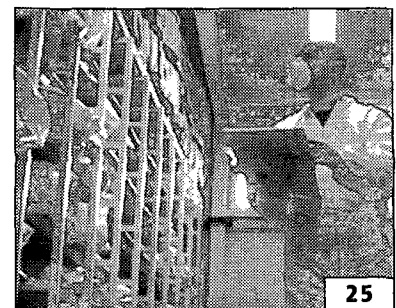
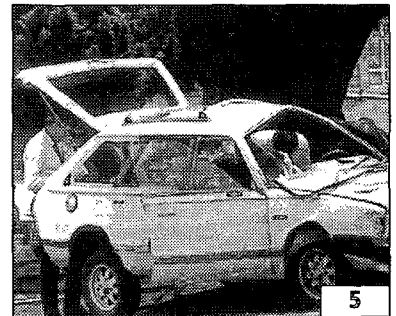
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Inflating Anti-Semitism?

In "Sharon's Best Weapon" (May 27), Naomi Klein overrates real anti-Semitism, as opposed to anger at Israeli policy. She also equates it with the violence being applied to Palestinians, and scolds protesters against Israeli policy for failing simultaneously to condemn attacks on Jewish synagogues and an alleged "rise of anti-Semitism."

Klein's article fails to demonstrate that there has been any rise in anti-Semitism. Her statement that anti-Semitism helped spike Le Pen's support "from 10 percent to 17 percent in a week" has no basis in fact. Le Pen's campaign was silent on Israel and Jews, focusing on anti-Arab themes. In Klein's reasoning this should have cost him votes. Even the pro-Israeli *Economist* notes that in France, "personal hostility to Jews, as opposed to the Israelis' government, is neither widespread nor increasing," that "few analysts put Mr. Le Pen's success down even partly to anti-Semitism," and "indeed, a leading French Jew laments that quite a few of his co-religionists voted last month for Mr. Le Pen."

Klein also misrepresents the position of the left, stating that every time she logs into indymedia.org, she's "confronted with a string of Jewish conspiracy theories about September 11 and excerpts from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*." She assures us that "the globalization movement isn't anti-Semitic," but her smear certainly suggests that it is. Those searching Indymedia have found mentions of the *Protocols*, but none in which they were cited as meritorious or valid; so I believe Klein owes an apology.

In her conclusion, Klein says that "when ever hatred of Jews diminishes, the likes of Jean-Marie Le Pen shrink right down with it." This is untrue, as Klein once again inflates the importance of anti-Semitism relative to other factors. In reality, it is the anti-Arab and anti-immigrant focus, along with the impact of neoliberal policies, that has given Le Pen his strong position in France.

Edward S. Herman
Penn Valley, Pennsylvania

Naomi Klein replies: I expected the hate mail from right-wing Israelis, but the attacks from the left have taken me somewhat by surprise. So far, I haven't responded. But when someone like Edward Herman, whose work has meant a great deal to me, chooses to so grossly distort the intent and spirit of my writing, I need to set the record straight.

Let me be absolutely clear: I did not "scold" the brave activists who have put their bodies on the line in the Occupied Territories. I unequivocally support these actions, stand in solidarity with them, and clearly said so in my article.

Neither did I "smear" Indymedia. As Indymedia readers know, it is a fact that anti-Semites, racists and other assorted wackos have tried to hijack the open publishing philosophy of several Indymedia newswires. For more than a year, Indymedia activists have been struggling to find an ethical way to deal with this opportunism, one in keeping with the values of participatory media. It is an open debate and, as someone who collaborates with Independent Media Centers around the world, I have the right to express my concerns without being told to go to apologize and go to my room.

Herman further implies that anti-Semitism isn't much of a problem anyway. While it's true that Le Pen's main target is Arab and North African immigrants (yet another point I made in my original article), the political success of a man who once dismissed the Holocaust as a "detail of history" is a reminder that it is perfectly possible to hate Arabs and Jews at the same time (and, if history has anything to teach us, communists, gypsies, gays, lesbians and plenty of other "others").

That's why the left has always had to find ways to condemn many hatreds and abuses simultaneously, just as we now must condemn Israeli violence while remaining vigilant about anti-Semitism. At no point did I in any way "equate" the current effects of anti-Semitism in Europe with the horrific violence the Israeli military is

raining down on Palestinians. The problem is that some on the left seem to feel this is a competition and that speaking out against anti-Semitism somehow softens opposition to Israeli violence and occupation. Quite the opposite: It strengthens it, while staying silent nearly plays into Sharon's scare tactics.

Sharon and leaders of the mainstream Jewish lobby groups prey on memories of persecution to convince millions of Jews that they will always be alone in a sea of hatred, that turning Palestinian towns and cities into cages is their only hope of security. Israeli newspapers are filled with articles about the rise of anti-Semitism in North America and Europe, with a special focus on the left.

One of the effects of this campaign has been the isolation of peace activists within Israel. Far too many left-wing Israelis have concluded that they cannot make common cause with those who not only seem to stay silent in the face of anti-Semitism, but even question whether the wave of incidents in Europe is anything to worry about at all. Herman seems unconcerned about further isolating these potential allies. That is a mistake.

Sharon is determined to destroy Palestinian society under the guise of fighting terrorism. The only strategy that has a chance of stopping him is a sustained, three-pronged alliance among Palestinian liberation forces, peace advocates within Israel and international human rights movements.

One thing is certain: We're not going to get anywhere until we start listening to the complexity in each other's positions, instead of portraying one another as crude caricatures.

Terry LaBan



THE CIA GETS THE GO-AHEAD TO ASSASSINATE SADDAM HUSSEIN

Before the Dawn

Will political reform
finally come to Burma?

By Joshua Schenker

WASHINGTON—Ever since Burmese pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest in early May, some foreign policy-makers and many ordinary Burmese have expressed cautious optimism that Burma, a Texas-sized Southeast Asian country ruled for 40 years by a brutal military regime, may finally undergo a political transition.

Burma's ruling junta, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), announced it was turning over a "new page" for the country's 50 million citizens. For her part, Suu Kyi heralded a "new dawn" and vowed to work with the junta to further political reform, promising to continue a confidence-building dialogue begun in late 2000 between her party, the National League for Democracy (NLD), and the regime.

Though politics inside Burma, probably the most isolated country in the world besides North Korea, are always murky, experts suggest several factors prompted the *détente*. At the highest levels, SPDC leaders may have believed Suu Kyi had lost her popular allure during her time away from the limelight. They were mistaken: After her release, she was met by thousands of supporters in Rangoon.

Meanwhile, special U.N. envoy Razali Ismail helped persuade the junta that only by breaking the country's political deadlock could they obtain any international legitimacy. "Razali has convinced some members of the regime that the only way they can return to the international fold is to embrace dialogue," says David Steinberg, a Burma specialist at Georgetown University.

Razali's hand was strengthened by U.S. threats to tighten sanctions on Burmese goods. This threat was enhanced by the recent pullout of dozens of major companies—including Wal-Mart, Hanes and, most recently, Ross Stores—from Burma, in response to pressure from groups like the Free Burma Coalition to stop purchasing textiles manufactured there.



Aung San Suu Kyi speaks to reporters after being freed from house arrest in May.

Burma (called Myanmar by its leaders) has been an international pariah since 1988, when the Rangoon regime brutally suppressed street protests and killed more than 3,000 people. The United States and several of its allies cut off direct financial assistance and blocked most aid to Burma after the 1988 bloodshed, and Washington barred all future investment in the country in 1997.

Almost immediately after Suu Kyi left her house, however, key foreign states began reconsidering their policies. Some diplomats said privately that the European Union would consider boosting assistance to Burma. Four days after Suu Kyi's release, Japan announced that it would provide the Burmese government with \$5 million to renovate a hydroelectric power plant.

Most important, in May, the United States—which generally takes a harder line against Rangoon—invited Colonel Kyaw Thein, a senior SPDC officer, to Washington. Kyaw Thein was the highest-ranking Burmese official to visit Washington in years, though experts emphasize that most American officials are not convinced Washington should expand contacts with the regime.

Indeed, Burma's recent political and socioeconomic history should make the

United States highly skeptical. The SPDC has a poor track record of keeping its promises: The junta allowed elections in 1990, but when the NLD won, the military annulled the results.

According to sources close to the talks, the NLD-SPDC dialogue has not broached any critical issues, including the some 1,500 political prisoners who remain in Burmese jails. Many Burmese exiles fear the regime will use talks with the NLD to draft a new constitution that will guarantee the military's supremacy in national politics. "The regime could use the talks to create a new constitution, have Suu Kyi give it legitimacy, and then cut out the NLD at the last minute," says Aung Zaw, editor of *Irrawaddy*, a Thailand-based magazine on Burmese politics.

Even as it touts a "new page" of openness and prosperity, the regime is contributing to the country's worsening socioeconomic crisis. The junta's graft, fiscal mismanagement and restrictive laws have created what may be the worst economic period in the country's history. The value of the kyat, Burma's currency, has plummeted, and long lines now form every morning in Rangoon, as average Burmese citizens wait for hours outside shops selling subsidized food staples.

This economic collapse has had severe consequences for Burmese society. Roughly one in 13 children die before their first birthday. Rising drug use, poverty, increasing internal migration and the junta's willful denials of any health problems have fueled the worst HIV epidemic in East Asia. Yet junta spokesmen insist that the country has no serious health crisis and that "even the fish die of old age in Burma."

Meanwhile, the SPDC spends more than five times as much on weapons as it does on health and education. The regime also largely depends on money-laundering linked to the drug trade. In recent months, the regime reportedly has allowed the United Wa State Army, a 20,000-strong ethnic militia that operates unfettered in northeast Burma, to dramatically expand methamphetamine and opium production, making it the world's largest armed narco-trafficking organization in the process.

American officials who have followed Burma for years say the United States and its allies must maintain a tough policy toward Rangoon. Washington must set benchmarks for irreversible change in Burma, like the release of all political prisoners, says one Asia expert in Congress, before "offering any inducements for reform. There's no reason we should trust this regime." ■

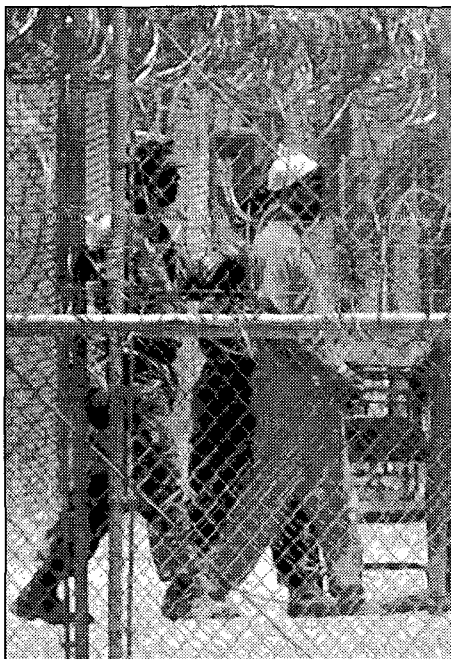
American Gulag

Hundreds of 9/11 detainees remain behind bars, shrouded in secrecy

By Geov Parrish

Nine months after September 11, an unknown number of people—probably hundreds—remain in jails, held on visa violations, as material witnesses, or without charges. Since late last fall, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has deflected growing public outcry over the detainees by simply refusing to provide information on them.

On June 12, a New Jersey state appeals court ruled that the federal government could keep secret the names of post-9/11 detainees held in New Jersey. At the time of that case, the Justice Department



All hearings related to terrorism are closed to anyone without a security clearance.

claimed that 104 detainees remained in custody nationwide, the majority in New Jersey county jails.

But those figures are at odds with the numbers compiled by human rights and civil liberties groups; the most recent report by Amnesty International, from April, estimates that "300 are believed to remain in Immigration and Naturalization Service detention, and an unknown number have been deported or released on bail, often after months in custody."

The New Jersey ruling is also at variance with several other court decisions. On April 4, a federal judge in Detroit ruled that blocking public access to immigration hearings was unconstitutional. And in late May, a federal judge in Washington, D.C., heard oral arguments in a challenge to the federal government's refusal to disclose basic information on individuals arrested and detained since September 11.

Amnesty International concludes that the detainees have been "deprived of some basic rights under international law, and many appear to have been detained arbitrarily." Consider the case of Elyes Glaissia, 27, a Tunisian citizen living in Tacoma, Washington. Glaissia was arrested on September 16 on the basis of a complaint allegedly lodged by his housemate, Ann Andersen, who claimed Glaissia was violent and probably a Middle Eastern terrorist.

Glaissia had overstayed a tourist visa but is married to a U.S. citizen and had applied for political asylum. He was hardly a flight risk. Nonetheless, he was denied bail. Details of those hearings are sketchy: Attorney General John Ashcroft has ordered all hearings that might be related to terrorism closed to people without security clearance—including defense lawyers, family and even the defendants themselves. Glaissia and many others were not only denied the right to see the evidence against them, but were effectively denied legal representation during their hearings.

The FBI didn't even start a file on Glaissia; it immediately determined that he was of no interest. Evidence emerged that Andersen and her son—transients who lived temporarily in Glaissia's house—hadn't complained at all, but merely had struck up a conversation with a local sheriff's deputy at a bus stop. Andersen, as it turned out, had a history of such fanciful stories—at her previous residence, where a Mormon couple had taken her in, she reported back to their church that the couple were Satan worshippers.

The INS had made no sustained effort to find the Andersens, who defense investigators tracked down in Norway—where they denied making the accusations detailed in the police report and testified that they weren't true. So much for the INS's only witness—except that Andersen did confirm what everyone knew, that Glaissia was a "devout Muslim."

At a hearing for Glaissia's asylum application and bond reduction, the presiding judge ruled against him, saying he didn't believe Andersen's recantation. According to the April 26 ruling, Glaissia was ineligible for asylum because "there [are] reasonable grounds for regarding [him] as a danger to the security of the United States, and because there is a reasonable ground to believe ... [that he] is likely to engage ... in terrorist activity." This was true, the judge wrote, because all of the September 11 hijackers, like Glaissia, were devout Muslims.

Such Kafkaesque logic is helping to keep many of the post-September 11 detainees behind bars. While Ashcroft works to expand secrecy to cover actual U.S. citizens—as in the case of reputed "dirty bomber" Jose Padilla—the hundreds still jailed desperately wait for a court to intervene. ■

FBI on Trial

Jury awards \$4.4 million to a pair of Earth First! activists

By Christine Keyser

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA—Twelve years ago, Earth First! organizer Judi Bari lay in traction in an Oakland hospital bed fighting for her life, critically wounded by a nail-studded pipe bomb that exploded under the driver's seat of her Subaru station wagon as she drove to an anti-logging rally. But instead of searching for the bombers, the FBI and Oakland Police immediately arrested Bari and fellow Earth First! organizer Darryl Cherney, smearing them in the media as eco-terrorists who were transporting explosives to blow up power lines.

On June 11, a federal jury in Oakland finally vindicated Bari and Cherney, finding six FBI and Oakland Police investigators liable for violating the pair's First and Fourth Amendment rights. The 10-member jury ordered the defendants to pay the two environmentalists \$4.4 million in compensatory and punitive damages for false arrest, illegal searches of their homes, defamation and discrediting their nonviolent campaign to halt the clear-cutting of California's ancient redwood forests. Significantly, the jury awarded 80 percent of the damages, or \$4.15 million, for infringing on the activists' First Amendment rights.

This stunning victory for free speech over suppression of political dissent came at a time when the Bush administration is seeking to expand FBI powers and revive the worst elements of the notorious COINTELPRO program, which Congress outlawed in the mid-'70s after exposing egregious FBI abuses against radical groups. "Judi Bari and I sued the FBI on behalf of all social activists whose rights have been violated by the FBI," says Cherney, who won \$1.5 million in damages. "Hopefully this lawsuit will serve as the first step in rectifying the horrible crimes of the FBI."

Bari, a former labor organizer who worked relentlessly on the lawsuit, died of breast cancer in March 1997. But Darlene Comingore, a close friend of Bari's and the executor of her estate, says the verdict sends a clear message that law enforcement

agencies cannot trample on civil rights in the name of combatting terrorism. "The jury got it," she says. "They understood how important it is to protect our constitutional rights. The people of the state of California and Oakland today said, 'No, you can't. You can't get away with it.'"

The verdict followed a six-week trial and three weeks of painstaking deliberations by a jury of predominantly suburban professionals who had known nothing about Earth First! During the trial, the FBI and Oakland Police blamed each other for rushing to judgment and arresting the activists. Defense attorneys argued that the officers had ample reason to suspect that Bari, the mother of two young daughters, and Cherney, a troubadour and satirical songwriter, were transporting their own bomb.

The FBI and Oakland Police had based the arrests and search warrants on three falsehoods that fell apart under scrutiny: that Bari and Cherney were violent eco-terrorists; the bomb was clearly visible on the floor behind the driver's seat; and the nails wrapped around the homemade pipe bomb matched a bag of nails found in Bari's car.

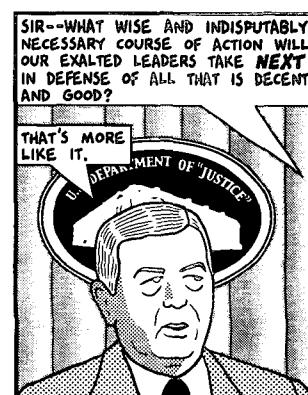
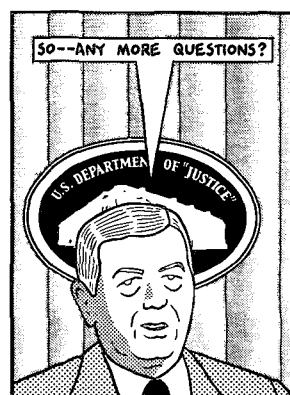
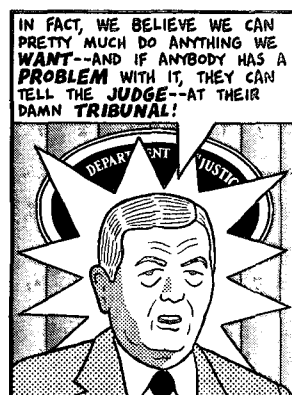
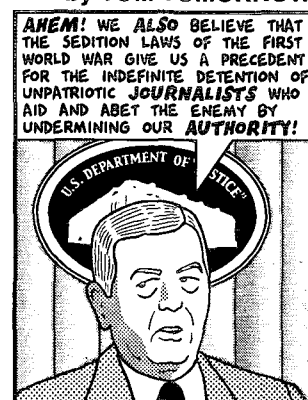
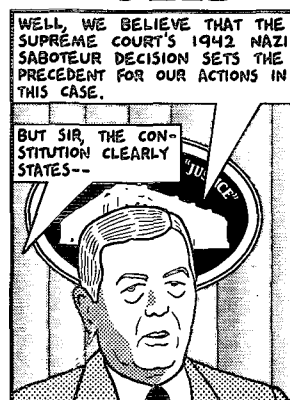
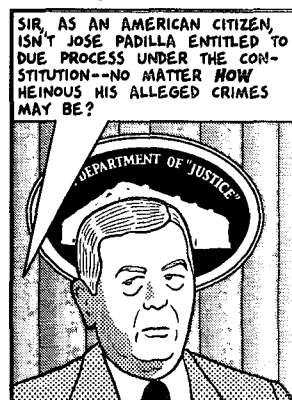
But an FBI bomb expert from the agency's Washington crime lab ascertained that the motion-triggered device had been hidden under the driver's seat. And when the jury was shown the demolished Subaru, they could clearly see the large crater where the blast had blown out the front floorboard and driver's seat, while the backseat and door were left mostly intact. They also saw that the nails attached to the bomb were long, skinny finishing nails, not the short, fat roofing nails that Bari used at her carpentry job.

At the time of the bombing on May 24, 1990, Bari and Cherney were organizing Redwood Summer, a campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience. They hoped to recruit thousands of environmentalists and college students to travel to Northern California to help save the imperiled redwood forests. Seeking an alliance with timber workers, Bari and Cherney publicly renounced the practice of tree-spiking, which had been used elsewhere in the country to deter clear-cutting of old-growth trees.

After announcing Redwood Summer, the pair had received numerous death threats from vigilante groups, with pictures

THIS MODERN WORLD

by TOM TOMORROW



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of nooses and rifle crosshairs superimposed over a photo of Bari's face. But when the activists reported the threats to local authorities, they were told: "If you turn up dead, then we'll investigate."

After the bombing, the FBI and Oakland Police likewise refused to investigate the death threats or interrogate individuals whom Bari and Cherney had implicated as possible suspects. Instead they declared that the two environmentalists were their only suspects. Yet seven weeks after the bombing, the Oakland District Attorney dropped the case, citing insufficient evidence. The FBI never cleared the two activists or further investigated the crime, and no one has ever been apprehended for the bombing.

U.S. District Judge Claudia Wilken prohibited the plaintiffs from mentioning the FBI's sordid history of surveillance and disruption of radical groups. Moreover, in 1997, Wilken dismissed a number of FBI officials from the lawsuit, including lead defendant Richard Held, chief of the San



Judi Bari didn't live to see her victory.

Francisco bureau, who had directed the COINTELPRO program against the Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement and other radical groups. Dozens of FBI files documenting the agency's use of the same covert tactics against Earth First! mysteriously disappeared before the trial.

Attorneys for the FBI and Oakland Police are expected to file appeals. The plaintiffs also plan to bring a new lawsuit against Held and other FBI officials dismissed from the case. "Now that the Oakland Police and the FBI have been brought to justice, they owe it to my family to explain what cause they had to hold my sister's civil rights in such contempt," Martha Bari said in a family statement. "Judi's political message was adamantly nonviolent. Yet for 12 long years she has been wrongly connected with terrorism. ... The verdict reminds us that protection against terrorism should never outweigh the protection of our own civil rights." ■

((((((((((APPALL-O-METER)))))))

Gambling Problem 7.7

Given that more than 200 people have already been killed in suicide bombings in the past two years, many Israelis are no doubt wondering where the next attack will happen. Some of their countrymen, however, are betting on it. The *Guardian* reports that police are investigating a bookmaking ring in Kiryat Malachi, just north of the Gaza Strip, that has been giving odds for various spots around the country. Bookies have assigned Jerusalem 3-to-2 odds to be hit next, for example, while the Red Sea resort of Eliat is a 17-to-1 gamble. One betting sheet, confiscated by police, helpfully stipulates that bets pay out for attacks by "Arabs against Jews and not the opposite."

Gents From Georgia 3.2

Rep. Sanford Bishop of Georgia may be every inch the "gracious and courtly gentleman" his spokesman makes him out to be.

BY DAVE MULCAHEY

But on a recent flight from Washington to Atlanta, he relieved himself in a manner more becoming a long-haul truck driver. According to ABC News, the congressman left his seat to use the bathroom but found it occupied. He asked a flight attendant for a cup, which he took to the privacy of a nook between the cockpit and the first-class seats. Cup and contents were properly disposed of when the bathroom became free again. At Hartsfield Airport in Atlanta security officials detained Bishop for questioning—not about indecency, but because the Democrat had chosen a restricted area to do the deed.

Meanwhile, backwoods Republican Rep. Bob Barr is suing the triumvirate of James Carville, Larry Flynt and Slick Willie himself for \$30 million. According to the *Washington Post*, the suit in federal court claims that the three

liberal malefactors brought on the "loss of [Barr's] reputation and emotional distress," caused "injury in his person and property," and hindered the public servant "in the lawful discharge of his duties." Barr took a powder from the Clinton impeachment inquisition, readers may recall, after Flynt circulated a report that the bible-thumping lawmaker had paid for his second wife's abortion.

Dude, This Rocks 1.4

MTV soldiers on in its war on square sensibilities. The network's most recent marks are James and Laurie Ann Ryan of Washington. The couple returned to their room at the

Hard Rock Hotel in Las Vegas to find what appeared to be a dead body lying in a pool of blood. As they fled in horror, they were detained by actors playing security personnel. The Ryans' trauma was finally brought to an end when an MTV personality appeared to tell them it all had been a prank being taped for the show *Harassment*. The Ryans are suing MTV for \$10 million. This is one frivolous lawsuit we can all get behind.



A Man of Peace

Dave Dellinger's career as a nonviolent organizer spans more than 60 years. He refused to fight in World War II and participated in the civil rights movement. As a member of the Chicago Seven in 1968, when he was in his fifties, Dellinger used the courtroom to put the Vietnam War on trial.

More than 30 years later, he remains a tireless activist for nuclear disarmament and a leading proponent of nonviolent strategies for political change. Last fall, as U.S. bombs fell in Afghanistan, hundreds celebrated his 86th birthday, an event recorded and recently released as a CD titled *Nonviolent Warriors: Dave Dellinger And The Power Of The People*. He spoke with *In These Times* from his home in Vermont.

You have been on the ramparts of every major struggle for peace and justice in the past half-century. Where do you find hope now, when President Bush has declared 2002 to be "the war year"?

It is a hard time to be hopeful. But my wife, Elizabeth Peterson, and I speak at a lot of high schools, and each time we see the early signs of interest in peace and nonviolence, and we hear young people expressing the need for alternatives to war and violence. That gives us hope. ...

We also have grandchildren who are asking questions and displaying an interest in the world around them. That gives us hope. In fact, just being around young people energizes and inspires us. ... I see more and more young people opting out of the dominant culture and seeking alternative ways to live together simply and humanely, and that gives me extraordinary hope.

In the '50s, you were arrested repeatedly in the South as a freedom rider. Today, under the aegis of the war on terrorism, we are seeing a new oppression of people of color, especially Muslims and Arab-Americans. Can the lessons of the civil rights movement be applied to this situation?

Definitely. The civil rights movement taught us the importance of solidarity. And now, here in Vermont, we stand in solidarity with our Muslim and Arab brothers and sisters, taking measures to protect them—

simple things like accompanying Muslim women to the grocery store and on errands, but also making public statements expressing the fact that our neighbors are not our enemies. The real enemy is war and violence and the ignorance and fear that make war possible.

You were a conscientious objector to World War II—an extraordinarily courageous and unpopular thing to be—and you spent a year in prison as a result. What did you accomplish?

I received a conscription notice while at Union Theological Seminary in the '40s. My studies exempted me from serving in the military, but I refused to accept the exemption. It seemed wrong to me that I could have a choice because I could afford to be in school while all over the country so many men, especially blacks and poor people, had no choice but to fight and be killed in the war.

So I went to jail. While in jail I fought the segregation of the prison system and their dehumanizing rules and tactics. I spent a lot of time in the "hole."

In Israel there are hundreds of soldiers who now are refusing to fight in the Occupied Territories.

I think by conscientiously objecting, my few friends and I expressed what a lot of people must have felt. Maybe we gave people the courage to speak out. That is what the Israeli "refuseniks" are doing. Their courage challenges their fellow citizens to take an equally principled stance against war and violence. I should also mention the courageous witnesses of the "Women in Black" who regularly hold vigils in Israel. My wife and I are part of a local Women in Black vigil. They let men participate as long as we wear black.

What other sorts of local activism are you involved in?

We are part of the Alliance for Prison Justice, a Vermont-based organization working to support prisoners and fight the privatization of prisons. In our area, all the services within the prison—health and dental care, mental health, food service, the telephone—have been privatized. ...

We are also very active in alternative media. Over the years, I have been the editor of many peace publications. Since 1986, I have been co-chairman of the board of directors of *Toward Freedom* magazine, a



Dave Dellinger

Vermont-based publication. When the mainstream press does not tell the truth, we need alternative publications that can reach and teach people, inspire them, inform them and get them active for peace and justice.

What is the most important thing you have learned over your long life of resistance to war and commitment to peace?

Love. At the core of it all, there needs to be love. We need one another. We all benefit from the existence of a beloved community. My wife and I have struggled all these years to purge ourselves of hatred, to forgive our enemies, and to love. Love is a strong inner force, and from it powerful witnesses for peace and justice will flow. ■

Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing

By Susan J. Douglas

Fierce Femmes storming pop culture," proclaimed *TV Guide* in June 2001, referring to kick-boxing heroines like Lara Croft, the Powerpuff Girls and the updated, sock-em version of Charlie's Angels. "They may be physically adept and emotionally resilient," the article continued, "but they also know their way around a make-up counter."

Welcome to Girl Power, what the Spice Girls once referred to as "feminism freshened up for the '90s." No namby-pamby Sandra Dee or Annette Funicello types here: These babes can make you swoon and kick your butt if you mess with them.

I have a 13-year-old daughter. Is this what I had hoped for her generation back in the '70s, when I was dissing *Police Woman* as sexist and mouthing off about pay equity? Is this progress? Well, yes and no. As a feminist (and also as a mother), I applaud Girl Power. I also, of course, hate it.

My kid freely uses words like "sexist" and "sexual harassment." She and all of her friends play sports and think girls who obsess about boys are losers. They walk around in all sorts of girl power-themed T-shirts, like the soccer one that reads, "Step Aside Guys, This is a Girl's Job."

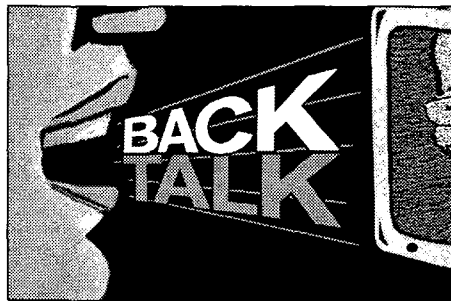
She can turn on the TV and watch the Williams sisters, Mia Hamm and the entire WNBA. In the past 10 years, the number of college women on varsity sports teams has gone from 93,000 to 151,000. When I was a kid, your best shot at a media hero was Dale Evans, and the only sports available to girls were cheerleading and baton-twirling.

The notion of Girl Power emerged in the '90s as the result of Carol Gilligan and Lyn Mikel Brown's reporting on the dramatic loss of self-esteem and the self-silencing of girls in their early teens. Mary Pipher's *Reviving Ophelia*, on the bestseller list longer than some of my kid's hamsters lived, argued for a more girl-friendly culture.

Then came the Spice Girls, who shrewdly cashed in on this political awakening by affirming the importance of Girl

Power while parading on stage in fuchsia platform boots and Wonderbras. Central to Girl Power is the insistence that females can, and should, combine strength and aggression with femininity and sexuality. This is welcome, given how often our culture emphasizes that female sexuality is dangerous and shameful.

Nonetheless, Girl Power is used to reaffirm the sexual objectification of



girls, the equation between how you look and what you're worth as a person, and, yes, subservience to boys. This version of Girl Power is, in fact, highly normative: The presumed girl is white, heterosexual, slim, pretty, and upper-middle class. (Remember, the only Spice Girl of color was nicknamed "Scary.")

Kimberly Roberts, who just finished her dissertation about girl culture, notes that Girl Power is, simultaneously, the heir to Second Wave feminism and a phrase used to sell face glitter, baby T-shirts, body lotion and, of course, Buffy the Vampire Slayer.

Buffy has become the icon of girl power. She is the chosen one: Only she, a teenage girl, can save the world from unspeakable evil. Adorned in mini-skirts and leather boots, she vanquishes the most terrifying ghouls in physical combat and still looks gorgeous at the end. Many girls love seeing this character do the forbidden: Beat up men. (Oh, to be Buffy in a dark alley with Dick Cheney and John Ashcroft!)

But when the media acknowledge girls' and women's desire for power, they always make us pay, by reminding us that no matter how strong we may get, we will still be judged, first and foremost, by

how we look and how much we weigh. (The star of the show, Sarah Michelle Gellar, is also the spokesmodel for a major cosmetics company.)

Then, of course, there's the question of whether it's all that great for girls to feel empowered primarily through the use of physical violence against others. One look at the Web tells the story of the struggle over defining Girl Power. If you enter Girl Power into your search engine, you will see sites produced by defiant young women sick of sexual harassment at school and Victoria's Secret commercials co-existing with sites designed to sell them thongs and lip gloss.

In Girl Power, we see how far we've come, and yet how far we have to go. The commercialized version of Girl Power wants girls to fantasize about beauty and supernatural powers while remaining docile in real life. And many girls are buying into only the surfaces of this freshened-up feminism. But many others are not. For them, Girl Power really is about combating acquaintance rape, fighting sexual harassment, ensuring reproductive freedom, pushing for pay equity, ending violence against women and children, and speaking out against mindless, macho militarism.

Girl Power is, simultaneously, the heir to Second Wave feminism and a phrase used to sell face glitter and lip gloss.

As we endure the media's ongoing co-optation of feminism to sell self-objectification and self-doubt, let's also take heart in the fact that many girls are talking back, and that this is not "postfeminism." It is still feminism, the real thing. ■

Susan J. Douglas is a professor of communications studies at the University of Michigan. She is the author of *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* and *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination*.

Homeland Insecurity

By Doug Ireland

George W. Bush's proposal for a new, mammoth Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is nothing more than an ill-conceived product of the White House's well-oiled media misdirection machine. Concocted in a secrecy so complete that some cabinet members whose departments were affected by the reorganization found out about it from the press, this latest boondoggle dumps 153 government entities into a new catch-all Tower of Babel that will have some 29 separate offices with 170,000 employees and a budget of over \$37 billion, according to early estimates.

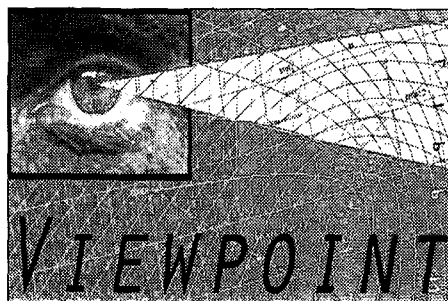
This PR gesture was hatched so hastily in order to smother public concern in the wake of wall-to-wall coverage that made the pre-9/11 intelligence failures of the incompetent FBI, CIA, INS, FAA and other bureaucracies the talk of America's breakfast tables. So far the cynical ploy seems to be working: An ABC/*Washington Post* poll in the days after Bush's June 6 primetime TV address announcing the new department showed that 7 in 10 Americans approved of it, while three in four believed the DHS would help prevent future terrorist attacks.

How could the public not be bamboozled when the Democrats' congressional leaders joined the chorus of orchestrated praise for the idea? Tom Daschle and Dick Gephardt promised to whip the proposal through the legislative process by the first anniversary of the September 11 attacks, leaving little time for real scrutiny of the cumbersome details in the biggest structural change in government in 55 years. Meanwhile, Sen. Joe Lieberman advanced his presidential ambitions by racing from one TV studio to another to proclaim that Bush had simply borrowed his ideas.

But the new department will actually make Americans less safe by subsuming under its aegis a raft of agencies responsible for protecting the public from other harms. For example, having already appointed a gun-toting deputy sheriff and former Green Beret from Arizona as surgeon-general, Bush completes the militarization of the nation's already strained public health service by putting civilian medical research programs from Health and Human Services into the new department. This means every

health crisis, from AIDS to the epidemic of drug-resistant strains of tuberculosis, will take second place to Bush's war.

Likewise impaired by their new priorities as part of the DHS will be the air-sea rescue functions of the Coast Guard; FEMA's ability to respond to natural disasters; and the FAA's responsibility to protect commercial aircraft from the depredations of corporate cost-cutters. And the list goes on.



As for Bush's plan to put the INS in the new department, one of the few Democratic critics, Michigan Rep. John Conyers, rightly said: "Reviewing sensitive matters such as asylum from the point of view of homeland security makes little sense to anyone sensitive to immigrants' needs. We are a nation of immigrants, and individuals facing persecution deserve an unbiased review of their case, which will be difficult to receive in a new agency with a narrow mission focused on excluding immigrants."

Or, as Dubya himself puts it in his own inimitable way, "We need to know who's coming in, and why they're not going out."

Moreover, excluding the FBI and the CIA—the two principal agencies charged with locating terrorists—from the DHS means an inevitable duplication of functions by the new agency. Bush has yet to explain how adding yet another layer of paper-shuffling analysts to filter intelligence before it gets to the White House does anything but create a framework for more failures.

But DHS will create a new funnel for surveillance data from the FBI and CIA to local law enforcement. With the new FBI guidelines that permit surveillance of political meetings and the CIA's first-ever authorization to engage in domestic spy-

ing, this DHS pipeline will only encourage the growth of municipal "political police" squads (like the one in Denver whose anti-civil libertarian antics have outraged Colorado).

Every week, it seems, brings new evidence of the FBI's ethically bankrupt, anti-constitutional culture—like the \$4.4 million verdict on June 11 in the lawsuit against the bureau brought by Earth First! activists Darryl Cherney and the late Judi Bari. Or take the *San Francisco Chronicle's* 17-year campaign under the Freedom of Information Act (now eviscerated by a Bush ukase), which finally revealed massive FBI spying in the '60s at the University of California.

Yet when FBI Director Robert Mueller appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee after the new FBI guidelines reauthorizing political spying were issued, the Democrats who control the committee hardly raised the major threat to civil liberties and free speech (with the exception of a feeble objection from Washington's Maria Cantwell).

Like the month-long delay in revealing the arrest of gang-banger Jose Padilla, a.k.a. Abdullah al-Muhajir, Bush's DHS flailings are designed to cover up the folly of his decision to militarize what should have been an international law enforcement campaign

Bush hasn't explained how yet another layer of paper-shuffling will stop terrorism.

against terrorism. Waging conventional warfare against al-Qaeda in Afghanistan was, as one intelligence analyst recently told *Nightline*, "like hitting a beehive with a baseball bat," allowing the fanatics to escape, disperse and regroup around the globe.

And while European police services have been rolling up al-Qaeda cells and operatives, U.S. agencies have yet to uncover anyone more threatening than the incompetent Padilla (the so-called dirty bomber's preparations appear to have consisted mostly of surfing the Internet), something the DHS is unlikely to change.

At the moment, the gravest dangers facing Americans are coming from our own government. ■

The lack of women in high-level government positions is one of the most glaring, yet least talked about, problems facing women today. In the past four decades, women have entered politics in significant numbers. If women, especially young women, have gained a greater sense of confidence, achievement and ability to achieve in the previous decades, then it's time for women to start making their participation match their population in society.

This issue of *In These Times* looks at obstacles that still stand in the way of women's equal participation in government and policy-making. For ideas about where to go next, *In These Times* turned to some of our most progressive women leaders and elected representatives at the city, state and federal levels. You'll find their thoughts on leadership and political participation throughout this issue. Their statements, some of which have been edited for inclusion here, are also posted in full on our Web site, at www.inthesetimes.com.

Most importantly, the point now is not to change to fit some vague—and somehow, always male—perception of what leadership should be. When women participate in equal numbers in government and policy-making, leadership will be redefined to reflect the way women lead. It's about time.

—Kristie Reilly

DOs AND DON'Ts ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

With more women in elective
office than ever before, running
as a female candidate is no
longer as difficult as it was.

That doesn't mean it's easy.

Marie Cox

Women in American politics are doing better than ever—but that's still not very good. At last count, women made up a majority of U.S. citizens, outnumbering men by at least 6 million. It will surprise no one that this majority is not reflected at any level of government.

On Capitol Hill, there are 13 female senators, and women represent 60 out of 435 congressional districts. Five women serve as state governors, and 83 more—27.4 percent total—hold a statewide elective office of some sort. Things are a bit better in state legislatures; 22.6 percent of all state representatives are women.

These not-quite-promising statistics are compounded by a sense among those who study such things that the recent rate of progress may have declined. Since 1993, women's representation in Congress has jumped about a percentage point per cycle, and the pattern for statewide elective office is similar. But the percentage of women in state legislatures, though the highest of any level, actually decreased by a point in the 2000 elections before rebounding this year. "There's no question there's been progress," says Carol Nackenoff, a professor of political science at Swarthmore College, "but the institutions haven't changed, so I worry."

Today, one can no longer assume that a man running against a woman is the odds-on favorite: In 2000, every woman that ran for a Senate seat won it. (Of course, there were only five.) "The problem seems to be one of recruitment," says Susan J. Carroll, who runs Rutgers University's Center on American Women in

Politics. "The opportunities are there, but if no one's there to recruit women candidates, then what do you do?" The question of why so few women want to run for office—"the pipeline problem," as researchers call it—has turned out to be much more important than feminist pioneers may have foreseen.

Several groups—both partisan and independent—have training programs set up to address the issue. The Women's Campaign School at Yale offers courses in fundraising, media strategy and public speaking to women from around the world, and both the Democratic and Republican national parties have their own campaign schools. The White House Project is a non-partisan group devoted to electing a female president; they have both a research arm and a recruitment and training program. The schools are all over, but even the White House Project, with its broad reach, has trouble filling seats.

One reason for women's reluctance to run may be that women perceive—correctly—that running for office places distinct boundaries on what you can do, say, maybe even believe. Female candidates, no matter what their ideological background, have a very narrow range of choices in behavior, relationships, and even appearance to select from should they want to succeed. Ron Faucheux, editor of *Campaigns and Elections* magazine, points out that for both men and women, the list of "campaign Dos and Don'ts" is much longer than it was 10 or 15 years ago. But Cathy Allen, the Democratic campaign consultant who helped Maria

Cantwell eke out her Senate victory last year in Washington, says, "Whatever the rules are for men, there are more for women."

A look at the rules illuminates some of the most common perceptions and stereotypes about female candidates. Whether we realize it or not, these rules help determine who gets elected—and who runs at all. Women considering elected office face structural obstacles that simply don't exist for men, and these obstacles, combined with the public's stubborn inability to judge women on the same terms as men, keep the candidate pool at an unhealthy low. Discussions with journalists, campaign consultants, candidates and academics reveal just a few Dos and Don'ts:

Do conform to certain rules of appearance. The regulations surrounding a woman's appearance are the most visible indicator of how female candidates are judged differently than men. Says Rutgers's Carroll: "I think everything is harder for women. Men running for office can vary widely, whereas women have a very narrow range of things that are tolerated in terms of behavior, dress, a lot of things." For example, she says, "Clearly, every political woman has a red suit—but it better be a suit."

Other visual markers are less specific, but just as prevalent: To judge by the headshots of female representatives, for instance, the range of acceptable hairstyles for women in Congress seems to be limited to two: a conservative bob, and a Florence-Henderson-esque short 'do. A recent study by The White House Project bears out just how closely audiences judge a woman's appearance: An analysis of a focus group's reactions to women's campaign ads showed that it is much more important for women to be shown in formal settings and dressed in business attire than it is for men.

Don't think being famous will help. Kathleen Taylor, the political director of the National Federation of Republican Women, points out, "Men can win office with popularity or celebrity, without prior political experience." Look no further

than actors Ronald Reagan and Tennessee Republican Sen. Fred Thompson (who lists his film roles on his Senate Web page) or former football players Steve Largent and J.C. Watts, both Republican congressmen from Oklahoma.

It's difficult to say just how these examples affect women's perceptions of themselves as candidates, but it's clear that men seem to think they are qualified to run the country even if all they've done is memorize a few things. (Lines, plays, legislation—what's the difference, right?) Women, on the other hand, can be just as successful (in careers that are bit more demanding, even), but never seem to think of running for office at all. Tellingly, studies by the Rutgers center show that women in state legislative office are more likely than men to hold a graduate degree and to be over age 50—a statistic that suggests the higher standard of experience the public needs before voting for a woman.

Do provide babysitters. This isn't a suggestion for once a female candidate is elected, it's a very serious observation about the campaign itself from former Newt Gingrich fundraiser and campaign strategist Nancy Bocskor (who, for the record, opposes federally funded childcare for working women). Political parties used to rely on armies of stay-at-home wives for their envelope-stuffing and yard-sign pegging—the nitty-gritty of publicity that's just as important as a sexy television ad. That army shipped out for 9-to-5 jobs a long time ago. Says Bocskor, "Now we ask for smaller bites of time. I have a TV and VCR so that they can bring their kids, and I have some teen-agers to watch them."

For a female candidate, providing a space for politically active women to work together can help build a network of future contacts and, dare we dream it, future candidates. Bocskor believes that getting more women in office won't happen unless there are women active in politics, period, and making volunteer campaign work more attractive to women is a step in the right direction.

All women face sexism and glass ceilings, and the political system is no different from the corporate world, academia or any other profession. Women of color are also discriminated against on the basis of race, and there are other factors, such as religious discrimination as well.

Two things need to be done right away: pass the Equal Rights Amendment and ratify the U.N. Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women. The economic disparities between men and women also need to be closed. Every bill that affects women should focus on improving the lives of women. When looking at welfare, Social Security and Medicare—many things—there needs to be more input by women, and these issues need to be looked at from a woman's perspective.

Women need to become engaged in the system at an early age. We need to work in political campaigns. We need to put forth requests for appointments to boards and commissions, and organize political support for those appointments. Women need to run for political office, become lobbyists and advocates for

issues that are important to our lives. Young women need to work hard in school and apply for key positions as interns and as staff members for elected officials, locally and at the state and federal level. As more and more women become involved, those who hold positions of power can present opportunities to younger generations.

Start at the grassroots level. Become involved in community-based movements by volunteering your time and skills. This will help to develop organizational skills and give you experience in campaigning for change. The best thing women can do is be involved in the system and learn from it. Once you have the experience and the knowledge, you can best position yourself to change it.

Women must continue to be engaged in the political process and active in our communities. We must also transcend the traditional boundaries of what constitutes "women's issues," because all of the issues fac-

The Official Word

Rep. Barbara Lee
D-California



ing our nation affect women. We must remain committed to protecting a woman's right to choose, to fighting for equal pay, to providing affordable housing, adequate health care and childcare, to protecting Social Security and Medicare, to safeguarding the environment, to improving public education and to finding peaceful solutions to our foreign policy issues. As we move into the future, women have unique perspectives on ways to address problems we all face. We must be at the table. We must demand to be heard.

America, I'm afraid, pays a heavy toll for a Congress that is not reflective of the diversity of its citizenry. Clearly public servants don't check their life experiences at the door when they show up to work. Therefore, a woman in any legislative or executive post will bring her own perspective to the job. In 1992, we concluded that the all-white, all-male Senate Judiciary Committee just didn't "get" sexual harassment. It's not a leap of logic to suggest that the 86 percent of Congress members who are male have had fundamentally different life experiences with regard to raising children, caring for ailing parents, sexual assault, domestic violence, pay equity, or family and medical leave. I believe we will be better represented when our legislative bodies reflect the diversity of America.

My own experiences in politics may suggest some reasons why women don't constitute a critical mass in many legislative bodies. I was projected to lose every competitive race I entered. People told me that I wouldn't be able to win, that I should get out of the race to ensure a clean primary, or that I should step aside to ensure that a candidate who

"could win in the general election" would win our primary. Well, I proved them all wrong, having won every race I was supposed to lose. I became the first woman to serve as a member of Congress from my home state of Wisconsin.

Women need to demystify politics if they are to succeed in it, and if more are to run for office. Women who are interested in public office should go and work on campaigns, and observe legislative bodies at work. I had always wanted to run for public office, but as a young college graduate, I must admit I felt intimidated. After attending a couple City Council and County Board meetings, I had a "light bulb moment." I realized that I was just as smart as anyone in that chamber, and I could do what they do.

It is very important that today's young women and girls have women leaders that they can look up to, so that they too can picture themselves as elected leaders. I remember one of my last days serving in

The Official Word

Rep. Tammy Baldwin D-Wisconsin



the Wisconsin State Assembly. There was a class of fourth-graders up in the gallery. After session adjourned, they came down onto the floor and a young girl approached me. She asked me which seat was mine, so I pointed to my chair in the Assembly. She walked right over to it and sat down, her feet not even touching the floor ... I could tell that this girl could see herself there, as a member of the State Assembly, because she had seen me there. And as she got comfortable she said, "I like the feel of this."

Do have a Web site. Women support women who are running for office, and women give online. A study by the Center for Responsive Politics found that women, especially Democrats, are much more likely to give to other women than to men: In 1996, female Democratic candidates got 43 percent of their large donations from women. The online part of the equation will only become more important with campaign finance reform. According to Becki Donatelli of the Internet consulting firm Campaign Solutions, right now men's online donations to specific candidates vastly outweigh women's, by a ratio of 4-to-1. But under the reformed contribution guidelines, it's likely that the real pressure in elections will come from issue-oriented groups. For issue and ideological groups, the gender gap in donations is reversed: Women give four times as much as men. This may not translate into greater support from women for specific candidates, but it does suggest that women use Web sites to investigate issues they care about, and give their money accordingly.

Do support the death penalty ... or find another way to prove you're tough. It's not pretty, but it's true: Women need to overcome the perception that they're "too compassionate." It's ironic, says Wilson, because "kitchen table issues—health care, education—are in ascendance, but women do well when they talk tough about crime."

Carroll says that ardent capital-punishment supporter and California Sen. Dianne Feinstein "is the prime example" of how women have to look tough on one issue in order to succeed on other issues where they might otherwise appear too soft. "It's never been an issue for her that she's been weak on crime," Carroll says. "So she was able to lead the Senate to ban assault weapons, because no one ever thought she was weak on crime."

Wilson says that women don't just need to talk tough, they—still—actually need to be tougher than men: "When women speak in an ad, they immediately have to project something very active. You have use language that's a little tougher: 'I fought for something, I cracked down on something.'"

With the war on terrorism raising the bar on macho for male candidates, one wonders what this higher toughness standard will do to female candidates: Are we ready for women to start talking about how they, for example, "massacred legislation" or "nuked an opponent"?

Do have an opinion about abortion. It's true—and not particularly surprising—that most women in elective office are pro-choice. A report by the Rutgers center on women and men in state legislatures found that 94 percent of elected female Democrats and 58 percent of elected female Republicans supported *Roe v. Wade*. It doesn't matter if they're running for district attorney or dog-catcher, says Carroll, "I don't think a woman can run for office and not get asked about abortion, it doesn't matter what she's running for. A man can run for office his entire life and not get asked about abortion."

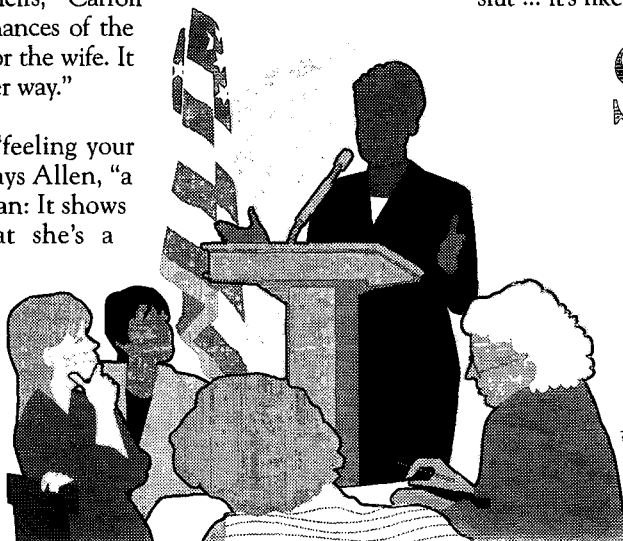
Do hide your husband. Not only did the Rutgers state legislature study show that, nationwide, female state legislators are far less likely than their male counterparts to be married (66 percent of women were married, as opposed to 87 percent of men), but women who are married have to keep their husbands in the background. In contrast, campaign consultants say that the wives of male candidates can be enormously effective campaigners. Says Cathy Allen, "Political wives are more and more given campaign roles. She has issues, and she has to be able to speak on them and what she's likely to do if he's elected." But, cautions Allen, "You can't be Hillary Clinton, go out and craft an entire health care plan. That still scares the bejesus out of people."

Somewhat ironically, though, most analysts see the role of political husband as being far more restricted than that of a political wife. He has to be supportive without being too visible, he has to recede without appearing to be dominated by his wife. He should be in the family photo, but he shouldn't be on the campaign trail.

Why? Says one political insider, when a husband and wife stand in front of a crowd, it's all-too-easy for people to assume that it's the man who's really in control—no matter whose name is on the banner over their heads. A good negative example, says this source, is the primary campaign mounted by Deborah Senn against Maria Cantwell: "The worst thing she did was to bring her husband" to meetings with members of the press. "He sat behind her," she says; "he passed her notes."

There's another reason for keeping husbands off-stage: His scandals—particularly economic ones—*will* become hers. Whether it's Geraldine Ferraro fighting off accusations that her husband had mob connections or Republican Jeanine Pirro having to distance herself from her spouse's income-tax evasion, women can't convincingly argue that they have an independent financial life. "For women, their husband's finances are assumed to be theirs," Carroll says. "Any issues about the finances of the husband, it becomes an issue for the wife. It doesn't always happen the other way."

Don't cry. Bill Clinton made "feeling your pain" a campaign plus. But, says Allen, "a woman can't cry, but a man can: It shows that he's sensitive but that she's a wimp." People *still* talk about Pat Schroeder's tearful appearance when she spoke about even *thinking* about running for president in 1988, Allen points out, but today, "any number of men are quivering at the microphone."



Don't go negative. Jo Freeman, author of *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics*, says that negative campaigning doesn't work for women. "The classic example within memory is the race between Geraldine Ferraro and Elizabeth Holtzman" in New York in 1992, says Freeman. Holtzman ran such a negative campaign against Ferraro (she repeated those rumors about mob connections), Freeman recounts, that "not only did she lose the senate race—to Alfonse D'Amato—she lost re-election for New York City comptroller the next year."

Freeman thinks negative campaigning boomerangs on women because "women have traditionally been associated with cleaner politics, [and] when they don't act clean, it becomes a negative image. You know, a man who sleeps around is a man who sleeps around, a woman who sleeps around is a slut ... it's like that but for campaigning."

So what are we to do about the Dos and Don'ts? A 2000 study by The White House Project found that the absence of large numbers of women in politics could become a self-fulfilling prophecy: Young women say they aren't likely to run for office because they don't see very many women already there, a pattern of regression that could turn the current plateau into a cliff. To make matters worse, young women—correctly, it turns out—perceive politics as the province of a very narrow slice of the American public ... meaning the rules that keep women in line are

When I reflect on the role of women in politics, I am pleased to look back at the significant advances in participation that have been made by women legislators since I first ran for office 30 years ago.

In 1972, community leaders in Dallas asked me to consider running for a seat in the Texas House of Representatives. I knew that running for office would not be easy, especially since no African-American woman had ever won public office in Dallas. However, I worked hard to win the faith of my community, and they sent me to represent them before the state legislature in Austin. That's when I realized that the fight was just beginning.

Like many women with a career, I had to juggle childcare and family life along with my new professional responsibilities, all while fighting to break into the male-dominated world of Texas politics. Since that first election, I have been fortunate to have the opportunity to break new ground for women legislators, including becoming the first woman in Texas history to lead a major Texas House committee. I have also been elected to the Texas state Senate, and, in 1992, I was

elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where I currently chair the Congressional Black Caucus.

Today, I am pleased to serve alongside many female colleagues who are making leadership history of their own. There are 60 female members of the U.S. House of Representatives, including Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-California), who, as Minority Whip, is the highest-ranking female in the history of our chamber.

Women, and particularly African-American women, bring a unique perspective to public policy-making. We often run for and serve in public office for very different reasons than our male colleagues, as reflected in many of the issues we champion. Across the ideological spectrum, we place a greater emphasis on the issues that impact our children and families: education and health care, equal pay, retirement security and protecting Social Security.

The Official Word

Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson
Chairwoman, Congressional Black Caucus
D-Texas



And we keep these issues at the forefront of the national debate.

With the leadership of our nation's government split on razor-thin margins, and the fate of critical policy issues under discussion every day, there has never been a more important time for women to speak up and participate in the political process. We must continue to have a strong voice in deciding the future of our nation. From registering to vote to supporting women candidates to encouraging new women leaders to run for public office, we must fight to elect more women leaders.

May our numbers increase.

Teaching women to campaign—and win

By Mary Abowd

Once an 18-year-old single mother on welfare, Kathy Hayes-McElroy never thought she'd be training to run for political office. "In high school, I may have been elected Miss Congeniality, but I wasn't the one voted Most Likely to Become President," she laughs. Now the African-American community outreach supervisor for the Cook County state's attorney's office, Hayes-McElroy is one of 12 Illinois women who could be destined to do just that.

They are part of the Illinois Women's Institute for Leadership (IWIL), a new initiative to train and mentor Democratic women leaders. "We're interested ultimately in obtaining policy positions in government," says IWIL president Loretta Durbin, who runs a political consulting firm in Springfield and is married to Illinois Sen. Dick Durbin. "Some will start out on county boards and school boards; others may go directly to the statehouse. The key is to get them into the pipeline to run for office."

Two years ago, Durbin and a group of Democratic women came up with the idea for IWIL because, she says, women "are totally under-represented everywhere in government." Indeed, the number of Illinois women who have held statewide office can be tallied on one hand—they amount to a grand total of four—

and of those, only one, Dawn Clark Netsch, who served as comptroller from 1991-1995, was a Democrat. "Women lose elections because they don't know how to give speeches, work a crowd, and fundraise," says IWIL Vice President Margaret Blackshere, the first female president of the AFL-CIO Illinois.

Last year, 50 women applied to be IWIL delegates. The winners, many of whom were already familiar with political campaigns, were selected based on their potential to become political leaders. They ranged from a park district foundation director in Rockford and a legislative aide in Springfield to an attorney at a reputable Chicago firm and a county board member in Peoria. So far, the delegates have attended five of the six institute sessions, which began in January and run through August and are focused on fundraising, public speaking, political campaign organization and public policy. In April, they visited Springfield to "shadow" and learn from legislators. In June, they went to Capitol Hill.

Last winter, IWIL's first session featured an A-list of

political movers and shakers in Illinois, among them Senator Durbin, Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D-Illinois), state House Speaker Michael J. Madigan and former Democratic National Committee Chairman David Wilhelm. "We've had access to individuals that many, even veteran,

candidates don't have access to," says Hayes-McElroy, who has worked on local political campaigns.

But having the right calling cards is only the beginning. Developing a network of campaign contributors is just as important, says Ann Liston, regional director of Emily's List, a national organization that raises money for pro-choice Democratic women candidates. In April, Liston taught an IWIL fundraising workshop entitled "Love it or hate it, we've got to do it." The reality is, most women don't love it.

"I do tons of fundraising for other candidates and incumbents, but the daunting part is asking for yourself," says delegate Tracy Fischman, director of policy and legislative affairs of the STD/HIV/AIDS division at the Chicago Department of Public Health. "It's about selling yourself and knowing that you are prepared to be a really good elected official. Jan [Schakowsky] calls it 'dialing for dollars.'"

While IWIL focuses on mentoring, another Illinois organization called Women's Voices, Women's Votes, founded in 1994, funds the campaigns of progressive, pro-choice Democratic women running for state legislature. "Our mission is primarily fundraising," says state Rep. Barbara Flynn Currie, a founder of the group. "We've had a track record of helping elect some terrific women." Two women to watch in the November elections? State Senator Lisa Madigan, in her bid for Illinois Attorney General, and Iris Martinez, who, if elected, would be the first Latina in the state Senate.

"There are a lot of women in Illinois who are in the game now; we don't have to be lone soldiers anymore," says Hayes-McElroy. "When people start realizing that women's issues are everyone's issues—labor, family, environmental, medical issues—I don't think you're going to be able to stop us." ■

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the same rules that prevent them from being able to imagine themselves as candidates.

The Dos and Don'ts of campaigning, after all, are almost all about appearances: The appearance of being tough on crime, the appearance of not being able to handle the pressure of a political position. Young people see the emphasis on appearance and assume that even if they could fit into the tight mold of a candidate, why bother? But when the White House Project's interviewers asked young women about issues, and when they were able to make the connection between the issues they care about and the actions politicians take (as opposed to how they look taking them), interest in a political career grew substantially.

Right now, the rules of politics may get a woman elected, but following them too closely almost certainly means there will be fewer women to follow. Only by allowing female candidates to violate the Dos and Don'ts of campaigning will we begin to widen the spectrum of positions available to women. The message we should send to women running for office? When someone tells you something is a Do, Don't. ■

EUROPE CRAWLS AHEAD

□ □ □

As Speaker of the Riksdagen, the Swedish parliament, Birgitta Dahl holds Sweden's second-highest political office. But when she was first elected back in 1969, as a 30-year-old single mother, she was regarded as "very odd."

"To be accepted and respected, you had to act like a bad copy of a man," Dahl recalls of her early years in politics. "But we tried to change that, and we never gave up our identity. Now women have

By Megan Rowling

competence in Parliament, and they have changed its performance and priorities."

Back then, women of her generation were eager for change. From the beginning, they based their demands on the right of the individual—whether male or female—to have equal access to education, work and social security. And as politicians, they fought hard to build a legal framework for good childcare and parental leave, for fathers as well as mothers. "We got this kind of legislation through," Dahl says, "even though it took 15 years of serious conflict, debate and struggle."

And their efforts paid off. Sweden now has the highest proportion of women parliamentarians in the world, at 42.7 percent—up from just 12 percent in 1969. Two of its three deputy speakers are also women. Other Nordic countries too have high levels of female representation: In rankings compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), Denmark takes second place behind Sweden, with women accounting for 38 percent of parliament members, followed by Finland and Norway with around 36.5 percent. (Finland also has one of the world's 11 women heads of state.) These nations' Social Democratic and far-left governing coalitions have made impressive progress toward equality in all areas of society in the past 40 years. But the nature of their electoral systems is also very important.

Julie Ballington, gender project officer at the Stockholm-based International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), points out that the top 10 countries in the IPU ranking all use some form of proportional representation. This kind of voting system, in which parties are allocated seats in multi-member districts according to the percentage of votes they win, Ballington says, "offers a way to address gender imbal-

ance in parliaments." With single-member districts, parties are often under pressure to choose a male candidate. But where they can contest and win more than one seat per constituency, they tend to be more willing to field female candidates. And by improving the gender balance on their slates, they widen their appeal among women voters.

Most European countries now use proportional representation or a combination of proportional representation and majoritarian voting, the system in use in the United States and the United Kingdom. In Europe, the widespread use of proportional representation has boosted the number of women politicians—particularly in the past three decades. And in the Nordic countries, where left-wing parties have enjoyed long periods in power and feminism has received strong support, the combination of these factors has led to significant progress toward gender parity in politics.

But even within Europe, some countries continue to lag behind. In Britain, which uses a single-member district plurality system, women members of parliament make up just 17.9 percent of the House of Commons. In the general elections of 2001, the ruling Labour Party stipulated that half those on its candidate shortlists be women. But research conducted by the Fawcett Society, a British organization that campaigns for gender equity, showed that some female hopefuls experienced overt discrimination and even sexual harassment when interviewed by local party members during the selection process.

"You are told things like 'your children are better off with you at home' ... 'you are the best candidate but we are not ready for a woman.' They would select the donkey rather than the woman," said one candidate. Another complained: "They are absolutely adamant they will not consider a woman. ... It was said to me ... 'we do enjoy watching you speak—we always imagine what your knickers are like.' It is that basic." In light of such attitudes, it is not surprising that women candidates were selected for only four out of 38 vacant seats.

Thanks to new governmental legislation, however, the party is set to reintroduce the controversial method of all-women shortlists it used in the general election of 1997. The use of

Several years ago I saw something I've never forgotten. One day my counterpart in a set of difficult contract negotiations was accompanied by his supervisor. The boss wasn't there to step in and cut the final deal, but only to offer moral support to his staff. It was a small gesture, but it was a reminder that leadership isn't always about stepping out in front of others, but knowing how to let others step in front of you.

That's something those in leadership positions sometimes forget, but it's something particularly important for women to remember. Feminism's mission has always been about more than helping women win power; it also teaches us to transform the way it's exercised. Today, when

women gain authority, too often we set aside our skills in collaboration and team building and instead adopt the most conventional approach to leadership. As a result we miss the opportunity to exercise leadership in the most meaningful way possible: by helping unleash the talents of others.

Most women leaders believe in serving as a role model for young girls. That's great, but that's only where our responsibilities begin. It's also our job to help other women into leadership positions. The way to do that isn't by encouraging younger

The Official Word

Amy Dean

President, South Bay AFL-CIO
San Jose, California



women to change who they are to fit the status quo, but to challenge the status quo so others better appreciate the crucial leadership women can offer.

The Official Word

Rep. Lynn Woolsey D-California



When my children were 1, 3 and 5, my husband left us, and I found myself in a position I never imagined: a single mother taking care of three small children. Even though I was working, I had to go on welfare.

Because I had job skills and education, I was able to land a job. But while I was going through this difficult time, I couldn't stop thinking about all the other women in the same situation. I felt lucky. I was healthy, my children were healthy, I was educated. I never questioned that this obstacle in my life was temporary, and you know that I was assertive. I couldn't help but think how difficult it would be for women who were not educated, who did not have extended family support, who were victims of domestic violence, whose children were sick.

That is one of the main reasons I decided to run for City Council in my hometown of Petaluma, California. My family succeeded because of government assistance, and I wanted to do my all to help families in similar situations. My experience as a welfare mom drew me into politics, and my passion for serving my community got me elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

I continue to fight for welfare moms and working families, to protect our environment and to provide a bright future for our children. In the coming year, I plan to introduce legislation that will help improve the lives of working families and

their children at all stages of development. It will include paid family leave after the birth of a child, increased funding for child-care, school breakfast for all students and help for working families taking care of aging parents.

these shortlists saw the number of British women MPs double to 120 in that election, which swept Labour to power with a landslide victory. The technique was later ruled illegal because it was judged to discriminate against men. But in early 2002, the government returned to the idea, passing a bill that will allow political parties to take measures in favor of women when choosing parliamentary candidates—what's often referred to as "positive discrimination."

Judith Squires, a political researcher at Bristol University, believes that the new legislation got such an easy ride partly because it does not stipulate that parties must take action: "We had expected it to be a hard battle. But there has been a change of mood in the Conservative Party, and the fact that it is per-

"People are waking up and saying that it's not right that there are so few women in politics."

missive, and there is a sunset clause [the legislation expires in 2015], all helped to push it through."

In France, where until the recent election women accounted for only 10.9 percent of National Assembly members, the government opted for a more extreme method: a law aimed at securing political parity between men and women. Now half of all contesting parties' candidates in National Assembly elections and most local ballots must be women. In National Assembly elections, which do not use proportional representation, parties that deviate from the 50 percent target by more than two percent are fined a proportion of their public financing.

The law's first test in the municipal elections of March 2001 saw the percentage of elected women councilors in towns of more than 3,500 almost double, to 47.5 percent. But in June's National Assembly elections, the proportion of women deputies increased by less than 1.5 points, to just 12.3 percent—way below expectations. The main factor behind this disappointing result was the success of right-wing parties that ignored the new law, says Mariette Sineau, research director at the Center for the Study of

French Political Life. "The big parties decided it was better to incur the financial penalty than to sacrifice their 'favored sons.' And this was particularly so with parties on the right."

Another problem with the law, Sineau explains, is that it does not apply to regional assemblies, "which is a shame, because most National Assembly deputies are recruited there." And the recent victory of the right suggests that France's ruling—and predominantly male—elite are in no hurry to change the system that has allowed them to hold on to power up until now, law or no law. As Chantal Cauquil, a French deputy at the European Parliament and member of the Workers' Struggle Party, argues, other aspects of French society must change before real parity can be achieved. "There's no doubt that economic and social conditions—which weigh on women earning the lowest salaries, in the most precarious situations, and with the biggest problems caused by a notable lack of childcare infrastructure—have a negative impact on women's political participation," she says. Moreover, governing parties of both the right and left are influenced by social prejudices and are not inclined to regard women as full citizens. It requires real political will to go against such prejudices and allow women to take on the same responsibilities as men."

Such deep-rooted but hidden obstacles, faced by women everywhere, are precisely why proponents of the use of gender quotas on lists for both party and national elections believe positive discrimination is essential. "Everybody hates quotas, and everyone wishes they weren't necessary," says Drude Dahlerup, professor of politics at the University of Stockholm. "But we have to start from the point that there are structural barriers. Then quotas can be seen as compensation." Currently, political parties in some 40 countries appear to agree, with quota systems in operation from Argentina and India to Uganda.

The use of quotas in Europe varies significantly from country to country and from party to party, but where a quota system is applied, it tends to lead to a rise in women's representation. In 1988, for example, Germany's Social Democrats adopted a system of flexible quotas, under which at least one-third of all candidates for internal party election must be female—and between 1987 and 1990, the number of Social Democratic women in the German parliament, the Bundestag, doubled. In Sweden, parties

didn't introduce quotas until the '90s, but the principle of "Varannan Damernas" ("Every Other Seat A Woman's Seat") has been widespread since the '80s. Dahl, the Swedish speaker, argues that "it is not only legislation that changes the world, but convincing people that change is necessary."

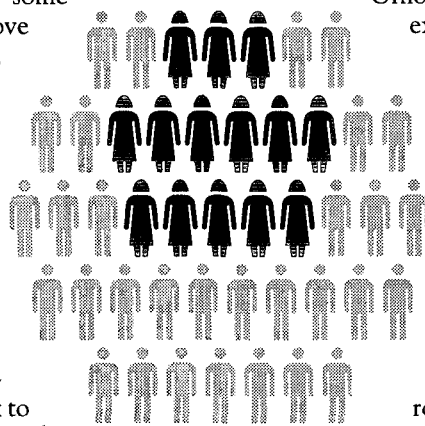
Yet, as Dahlerup notes, women in some Scandinavian countries have worked to improve gender equality since the end of World War I, and "other countries are not going to wait that long—they are showing impatience." "Critical mass," or the level of representation above which women make a real difference to the political agenda, is widely judged to be around 30 percent. And in countries such as France and the United Kingdom, where that is still a long way off, measures such as parity laws and all-women shortlists are a way to speed up progress.

Even in countries that are close to achieving political parity, however, women are quick to warn against complacency. Dahlerup emphasizes the case of Denmark, where quotas have been abandoned. "Young women say they don't want and don't need quotas. The discourse is that equality has already been achieved. But I think Denmark could go backward again, and that is dangerous."

Squires of Bristol University also talks about a backlash in Britain's Liberal Democratic Party against what younger women regard as "old-fashioned feminist policies." At the party conference last year, she says, many women in their twenties and early thirties lobbied against any form of positive discrimination, wearing pink T-shirts emblazoned with the words "I'm not a token woman." But Squires suggests that this attitude is somewhat misguided: "All parties [in the United Kingdom] have set criteria that discriminate against women. It is not a supply-side problem, it is a demand-side problem."

In an attempt to address this "demand-side problem," activists are targeting not only national political institutions, but also those of the European Union. The number of women members of the European Parliament increased from 25.7 percent in 1994 to 29.9 percent in the 1999 elections—not very impressive considering that some countries introduced proportional representation voting, and some parties alternated women and men on their lists to boost women's chances. More worrying perhaps is the gender imbalance in the Convention on the Future of Europe, a body charged with the important task of drafting a new treaty for the European Union. Its presidium includes only two women among its 12 members, and the convention itself only 19 out of 118 members.

"The establishment of the convention is a response to the need for transparency and democracy. How can we explain the fact that women are not included?" asks Denise Fuchs, president of the European Women's Lobby. "It is simply not coherent." The EWL has launched a campaign to rectify the problem and is lobbying to achieve parity democracy across all other European institutions as well.



"Critical mass," or the level of representation above which women make a real difference to the political agenda, is widely judged to be around 30 percent.

Yvonne Galligan, director of the Belfast-based Center for Advancement of Women in Politics, points out that "there has been a groundswell of support for women in political life across Western Europe, but this has not yet translated into numbers in the United Kingdom, Ireland and the European Union." In May's elections in the Irish Republic, for example, women parliamentarians in Ireland's Dail gained just one seat, and are now at 12.7 percent, according to the IPU.

Galligan is now working with political parties to set targets for Ireland's local elections in a couple of years' time—a tough job, because most parties oppose any form of positive discrimination. Parity in Ireland isn't likely to happen for a long while yet, but Galligan believes the social backdrop is improving. She cites a controversial referendum in March, in which the Irish electorate narrowly voted against a proposal to tighten the country's strict abortion laws even further. "That raised the status of women," she explains. "The underlying question was, how do we perceive the role of women? Now that is carrying over into elections. People are waking up and saying that it's not right that there are so few women in politics."

But where a sea-change in attitudes has not already occurred, it is almost certainly emerging. Naturally, there are fears that the apparent resurgence of the right in Europe could reverse the

trend. But most of those interviewed for this article say women have already progressed far enough to prevent a significant decline in representation.

As Linda McAvan, deputy leader of Britain's Labour MEPs, argues: "If we look at how things were 20 years ago, they have changed enormously. Young women are different now. They see what has been done by women politicians before them, and they want to do it too." ■

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DEFYING EXPECTATIONS

The experience of Muslim countries suggests that having a female leader isn't always enough.

The image of a woman president is an appealing one for many feminists. Yet in this era of remarkable gains in women's rights and gender equality, it is a goal that remains elusive. Only 11 countries in the world, out of more than 180, are headed by women. Of those, Muslim countries offer a particularly complex example. How is it that some of the worst countries in the world for women have women leaders? And what are those leaders doing for women?

Despite often vibrant feminist organizing, disillusionment with women leaders still seems to be the rule—in Turkey and Pakistan, women's rights activists caution that, like their male counterparts, female politicians tend to shift with the political

winds. And for Muslim countries, the presence of conservative interpretations of Sharia law, the customary law of Islam, can often make the difference between inequitable treatment of women and a more promising set of conditions. Senegal and Indonesia represent the latest hopes for women politicians. Such leaders may be a crucial symbol for young girls, raising their aspirations and encouraging them to get involved in politics.

In the early '90s, Tansu Ciller embodied the hopes of millions of Turkish women. Confident, well-educated and one of the most prominent politicians in Turkey, many believed she signaled a new, more democratic direction in Turkish politics. "A lot of women voted for her because they thought she would be a key actor for women's rights and against Islamic fundamentalism," says Pinar Ilkcaracan, founder of Women for Women's Human Rights.

But upon taking office as prime minister in 1993, not only did Ciller abandon her campaign stance in support of women's rights, she soon swung to the right, adopting a hard line toward Kurdish separatists and strengthening ties between her government, the police and the secret service. She was eventually forced out of government in 1996 after several parliamentary investigations of corruption.

Ciller remains a significant political figure in Turkey, though her True Path Party is no longer in power. But feminists have lost interest. "Even those who voted for her were extremely disappointed," Ilkcaracan says. "She did absolutely nothing."

Despite a new civil code passed earlier this year that provides substantially more freedom to women (Turkey has not followed Sharia law since the '20s),



AGUS SUTEDJO / GETTY

Megawati Sukarnoputri speaks at a campaign rally before her election in 2001.

Ilkcaracan says improvement on paper has not necessarily translated into change in everyday life. "In Turkey," she says, "women's lives continue to be shaped by customary and religious practices which contradict existing laws, such as early and forced marriages, honor crimes [in which men kill their sisters or wives for "crimes" like being raped or suspected of adultery], polygamous marriages and restrictions on women's mobility."

Having a woman as a leader makes very little difference, Ilkcaracan concludes. "What makes a difference is when women reach a critical share of seats at the parliament and [in] decision-making bodies."

Muslim women's rights activists express much the same disillusionment regarding Benazir Bhutto, former prime minister of Pakistan. The daughter of a former prime minister, Bhutto promised to restore democracy, but in 1999 was convicted of corruption along with her husband. "It was so disappointing," says Yasmeen Hassan, a women's rights activist from Pakistan living in the United States. "Everybody was so thrilled—here was this woman who was Western-educated, and she's coming to power in a Muslim country under Sharia law."

Bhutto did little to address the concerns of Pakistani women, especially those from poor, rural backgrounds, who face increasing domestic violence, honor killings, and, more recently, acid attacks. Such attacks are usually carried out by angry husbands or boyfriends, who throw sulphuric or hydrochloric acid in the faces of wives or girlfriends, disfiguring them for life. Hassan says

that in highly stratified Pakistan, the elite—including women—tend not to be interested in the problems of the poor. "Benazir is an upper-class woman," she says. "She's elitist, [and] she does not see herself as a woman or as aligned with women's causes."

She also had almost no effect on one of the issues Hassan considers most urgent: Pakistan's reliance on Sharia law for its penal and civil codes. In Pakistan, Islamic laws against adultery and fornication mean that women who are raped often end up in jail, accused of violating the law. Though some Muslim fem-

In April, Megawati gave a major speech in which she told Indonesian women to stop agitating for quotas, saying it would create "pseudo-advancement" for women.

inists press for a reinterpretation of Sharia laws to emphasize equality, Hassan doesn't think that's the best strategy. "Sharia law is everywhere used in ways that don't benefit women," she argues. "I just think that's a dangerous thing to do, because who is to say how it's going to be interpreted? I would just do away with the whole thing."

Bhutto now lives in exile in the United Arab Emirates, and is said to be considering a comeback. According to Hassan, Pakistani women are long past the point of supporting her because of her gender. "I don't think women feel particularly interested in her just because she's a woman."

When I was 29 years old, I was helping sanitation workers form a union. On this campaign, workers would not talk to me. Being a woman—especially a Latina—made organizing difficult because some workers did not respect me as much as they respected men.

When I handed one worker a union card, he asked, "Why should I take it?" I told him about the benefits of forming a union: pay, respect on the job and health care. "What do you know about hard work?" he replied. "What do you know about driving a truck and lifting heavy bags that could cut you or hurt your back?"

I explained that while I didn't drive a truck and pick up heavy bags all day, I knew the meaning of hard work. When I was 10 years old I started working 10 hours a day, five days a week picking cotton in the hot sun for 30 cents an hour.

His attitude changed after I told him this. His family had been migrant workers, and he knew how hard that work is. He began to let go of his prejudices, and we understood each other worker to worker. It was a defining moment for me as an organizer. I saw how powerful the connection is between workers, and how it can overcome barriers.

After we talked a little more, he took 20 union cards. By the next day, he had gotten 20 of his

co-workers to sign the cards and to support forming a union.

I've faced challenges as a woman and as a Latina. Some people don't think that you're as smart as they are. They think you should only fill certain roles like serving as the recording secretary, but never the president or secretary-treasurer, of organizations. There were a few people who asked for my opinion. This was encouraging because people rarely cared what I thought. Giving my opinion built my confidence, and having self-confidence is tremendously important for leadership.

There have been so many rewards that it's hard to know where to begin. I cannot explain how rewarding it is to see the joyful tears of a woman—struggling to make ends meet for her family—win a \$2,000 per year raise because of my help. Seeing the happiness on an old man's face after you've helped him win dignity on the job is indescribable.

We need pay equity for women and people of color. One of the best ways to guarantee equity is through a union contract. The debate on health care—especially women's health care—

The Official Word

Linda Chavez-Thompson
Executive Vice President, AFL-CIO



would be radically different if there were more women in public office. What's important is that we all do what we can to make our world a better place to live.

If you are in a union, attend union meetings, participate and plan actions, get involved with your central labor council, and volunteer your time for political campaigns. If you're not in a union, talk to your co-workers and form one.

Women are not just wives, mothers and sisters. We are leaders. Women have to fight for our dreams and encourage other women in their struggles. It's the responsibility of women leaders to bring more women into leadership positions. We have to stay in the front if we want our opinions and viewpoints to be heard.

The ability to effect change is one of the biggest rewards of public office. This is particularly important for young women, who typically have very little power in our society. For me, being elected was like getting a quadruple promotion at work. Instead of managing budgets of hundreds of thousands, I'm now helping to shape budgets involving hundreds of millions. I'm consulted by Fortune 500 companies about their corporate expansion plans downtown. After years of wishing that our city had a better recycling program, I'm now working to make it happen.

If I had freedom to enact reforms, I'd pass campaign finance reform, pay a living wage to elected officials, and emphasize tools in government that facilitate professional decision-making for elected officials. These reforms, in combination, would allow for women to participate in more equal numbers in government and provide a platform for policy that better reflects the diverse interests of the entire electorate.

The first two are fairly obvious. Women have a harder time raising money than men—they don't

earn as much money, they don't have the connections, and people may not take them as seriously. I raised \$65,000 to get elected to the Raleigh City Council.

That's not pocket change. If we want to see more women in politics, we need campaign finance reform. We need to pay politicians living wages to make our government more representative of the people. Paying \$10,000 a year to serve as city councilor means only individuals who own their own business, or are retired, wealthy or supported by a spouse can serve.

My final point about professionalizing government is this: By relying more on facts and analysis, we make better decisions. In a world dominated by men (I'm the only woman on an eight-person Council, and the majority of key staff are men), it is hard for women to have the relationships that provide equal

The Official Word

Janet Cowell
City Council
Raleigh, North Carolina



access to information. I've been amazed at the lack of facts, analysis and debate since taking office. In the absence of a scorecard on key issues—public safety, water quality, and cost of services—such as the city of Austin has, elected officials default to, at best, mediocre decisions and at worst, back room deals. Making government's performance transparent empowers citizens and public officials alike.

Nearly a year into her presidency, Indonesia's Megawati Sukarnoputri remains enigmatic but has given women few signs for hope. Leader of the world's largest Muslim country and daughter of former President Sukarno, Megawati has shown little interest in promoting women's rights and alarmed progressives by quietly forging closer ties with the military. "Megawati is simply not seen as being interested in women's issues," says Krishna Sen, a lecturer at Australia's Murdoch University who studies Indonesia.

Women have only 45 seats in the 500-seat legislature, and women's groups are advocating that political parties should reserve at least 30 percent of their executive boards for women.

"There are now little girls who, when you ask what they would like to be when they grow up, say they would like to be president."

In April, Megawati frustrated feminists by giving a major speech in which she told Indonesian women to stop agitating for quotas in high positions, saying that it would create "pseudo-advancement" for women.

Nevertheless, Megawati's presence may have symbolic importance in a country with a spirited women's movement and large numbers of women involved in labor unions and activist groups. "Although she does not appear to be an outspoken feminist, her rise to the presidency alone is a fascinating fact," says Carla Bianpoen, an Indonesian journalist. "There are now little girls who, when asked what would you like to be, say they would like to be a president."

Remarkably, Bangladesh has had a woman as prime minister since 1991, when Khaleda Zia, the wife of a former president, was elected. Sheikh Hasina, daughter of founding president Sheikh Mujibur, was prime minister from 1996 to 2000, and in October 2001, Zia was re-elected.

Critics charge that both women entered politics only after the death of their prominent relatives, saying that voters may view them as the continuation of those leaders or their families. But Zia is well respected within Bangladesh, even by the two hard-line Islamic parties that are part of her governing coalition, says Mashuda Khatun Shefali, founder of Nari Uddug Kendra, a women's development organization.

But even with these leaders, and even though women's equality is guaranteed by the constitution, Shefali says women in Bangladesh have a hard time looking after their basic needs and interests. "Gender relations in Bangladesh society are male dominated," Shefali says. "Within the family, the position of women is subordinated, dependent, and exclusively relegated to the role of nurturing."

In Bangladesh, women's literacy lags at 29.9 percent (compared to 52.3 percent for men). Early marriage, suicide after rape, sexual trafficking and high maternal mortality rates are major problems. The most upsetting recent trend has been the faddish rise in acid attacks against women. There were 338 in 2001, a 50 percent increase from the previous year.

Public concern about these attacks is growing, and even helping to focus attention on domestic violence. This year's International Women's Day was marked by a sizable demonstration of women in Dhaka, joined by many men, to protest against the attacks. The government has recently passed new laws making acid attacks a capital offense, and is restricting the sale of acid. Prime Minister Khaleda Zia herself has strongly condemned such attacks.

And despite the problems, women in Bangladesh have made critical progress. In 1995, following the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, the government established the National Council for Women's Development,

which seeks to promote women's rights and participation in politics and society. More women are gradually entering politics. "Women as voters are gaining in visibility," Shefali says, "and participation of women in national and local government elections is increasing."

Shefali adds that a female prime minister has symbolic importance in a country where women rarely participate in political decision-making. But she acknowledges that Zia has not made any progress toward increasing seats reserved for women in parliament, which was one of her campaign promises, and notes that the political parties are still overwhelmingly controlled by men. "Without any structural changes, in a male-dominated society, a woman leader alone cannot make much difference."

Senegal surprised the world with its efficient democratic transition in March 2000. Abdoulaye Wade, its new president, quickly appointed six women ministers—including Prime Minister Mame Madior Boye. Her appointment came at a time of renewed enthusiasm for women's political participation: In January 2001, the Senegalese approved a constitutional referendum that accorded women equal property rights with men for the first time.

According to Christiane Pelchat of the Washington-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Senegalese women face many challenges, from the spread of HIV to illiteracy rates as high as 77 percent. But Boye's professionalism and confident self-presentation—she is well respected in Senegal—serve as an example for other Senegalese women, who are increasingly enthusiastic about becoming active in politics. Pelchat's organization conducts training to increase the number of qualified women electoral candidates and assists women already in office. "You should see the enthusiasm and willingness of these women to get involved and have a say in the life of the community," she says.

Is it even possible for women to be different kinds of leaders than men? The experience of Muslim countries—as well as non-Muslim, in the case of Margaret Thatcher—illustrates that women leaders do not necessarily have feminist agendas, or even an interest in women's rights.

Nevertheless, many activists say that the importance of women in high positions, like Senegal's Boye, cannot be underestimated. "Just to have her as prime minister changes things," Pelchat concludes. "The public sphere is reserved for men in Africa, but now the head of the state is a woman. That's a big change for women, to say, hey, we can be in the public sphere." ■

Feminism Across Borders

By Rachel Rinaldo

The popular stereotype of women in Muslim countries as oppressed and passive permeates American discussions of the Middle East and South Asia. But most Muslim countries have numerous women professionals, as well as significant women's movements.

In truth, generalizing about women in huge, diverse countries like Pakistan is difficult and somewhat counterproductive. Many feminists and human rights activists come from the growing middle and upper-middle classes in these countries. They are often the first to admit that their lives are quite different from those of poorer women—they have been educated at universities and traveled overseas, and frequently choose careers with the support of their families.

Even the term "feminist" has sometimes been rejected by women activists in the Global South, who view it as a label with problematic connotations of Western cultural imperialism. Nevertheless, women in Pakistan, Indonesia and Bangladesh are organizing around issues of gender equality, and some are crossing class lines to work with disadvantaged women.

In Pakistan, a women's rights movement arose in the '70s and grew to prominence in the '80s. One of the best-known women's organizations, Shirkat Gah, started in the mid-'70s as a consciousness-raising group and resource center devoted to social justice for women. Shirkat Gah now focuses on issues pertaining to women's legal status, economic autonomy, and reproductive health and rights.

Shirkat Gah members also helped establish one of Pakistan's leading women's rights groups, the Women's Action Forum, which led protests against

the implementation of Islamic law during the military dictatorship in the '80s. Two sisters, Asma Jahangir and Hina Jilani, were among the founders of Women's Action Forum and went on to establish the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, as well as the country's first free legal aid center. Since then, Pakistani women's groups have become involved in activities like providing legal aid support for poor women and protesting violence against women.

Poverty and working conditions are two of the biggest issues for women's groups in Bangladesh. Nari Uddug Kendra (Center for Women's Initiatives), founded by Mashuda Khatun Shefali in 1991, assists women laborers in the garment industry by providing affordable housing in dormitories and apartments and transportation to work. Another organization, Phulki, conducts adult classes in garment factories on sexual and reproductive health. Phulki has also persuaded a number of companies to offer on-site childcare.

Though many women's groups are structured as non-governmental organizations with paid employees, Naripokkho is a grassroots, membership-based group founded in Dhaka in the early '80s. The group is most recognized for helping launch the national campaign against acid attacks. Naripokkho tracks these incidents, distributes leaflets explaining what to do in case of such an attack, counsels victims, and documents the stories of survivors.

Women's groups have a long history in Indonesia, but until recently tended to subordinate gender

concerns to those of nationalism and development. Gerwani, a women's organization associated with the Indonesian Communist Party in the '50s and early '60s, never really challenged gender hierarchies. Instead, Gerwani focused on mobilizing women to support issues like land reform. After the mid-'60s, the dictatorship of General Suharto stifled autonomous movements of any kind, and women were mobilized by state-led organizations that emphasized their domestic roles.

But in the mid-'80s, some Indonesian women returned to political life and pushed for women's rights or legal reforms. In the mid-'90s, a number of women's rights groups became part of the burgeoning movement against Suharto, which succeeded in toppling him in 1998. Since then, women's groups in Indonesia have multiplied and diversified. One of Indonesia's most well-known activist groups is Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity), founded in 1990, which advocates for the growing thousands of Indonesian women who go overseas to work as domestic laborers.

A noteworthy trend in Indonesia and other parts of the Muslim world is the ongoing effort to reinterpret Islamic texts to emphasize gender equality and women's rights. One prominent Indonesian Muslim group, The Society for Pesantren and Community Development, leads seminars and discussions at Islamic boarding schools to help make the case for women's rights based on critical re-readings of the Quran. Several Muslim women's organizations are closely involved with the group, but the seminars include students and teachers of both genders.

IT'S NOT JUST HAVING THE JOB— IT'S WHAT YOU DO WITH IT

On September 15, Rep. Barbara Lee made “herstory” when she cast the lone vote against President Bush’s resolution to bomb Afghanistan into oblivion. Incredibly, she was the only member of Congress to defy Bush’s call to use “all necessary and appropriate force.”

By Laura Washington

Speaking from the floor of the House, she said, “I am convinced that military action will not prevent further acts of international terrorism against the United States.”

Subsequent events have confirmed her caution. Afghanistan is a disaster area. Osama bin Laden and most of his brain trust remain at large, and the threat of terror here and abroad is, if anything, growing.

Of course, her courageous stand was rewarded with accusations of being unpatriotic, even death threats. It should come as no surprise that it took a woman to make that stand, that it was a woman who had the progressive vision. But why did she stand alone? Where were the other Congresswomen?

They were certainly in the congressional chambers that day, thanks to 1992, the so-called Year of the Woman, when another American heroine, Anita Hill, stood up to the Senate and testified against the Supreme Court nomination of Clarence Thomas. The movement that emerged from the Senate’s defiance and disrespect of Hill led to record-breaking gains for women in elective office across the nation.

A decade later, 63 of 535 members of Congress are women. But on one of the most transforming leadership decisions of our lifetime,

the September vote, 62 women were silent. Privately, her colleagues say they admired Lee for her vote of conscience. But real leadership is about more than whispering “go, girl” in the corridors.

Women should be different. Lee’s vote, and the silence that followed it, demonstrates why we must redefine what it means to be a leader in the women’s movement. It is no longer sufficient to aim to achieve the status of the old boys and play by their rules. We have to do more than just get there.

Of course, we must hold elected and appointed office and move into controlling roles in corporations, academia and other influential institutions. And we have. More women than ever are serving as elected officials, heads of colleges and universities, civic leaders and CEOs than at any time in history.

But Lee is not a leader simply because she is in a position of power, as an elected representative from an influential state. In this, a new century, real leadership should be defined not by access to power, but by how we choose to use it.

We have to look beyond leadership as defined by title. Titles are about entitlement, and can become nothing more than a one-way ticket to complacency. Women in traditional authority positions too often got there by playing by the old boys’ rules—rules that limit them to the values and rules of a male-defined and male-dominated world.

Consider Coleen Rowley and Sherron Watkins. Just as it took a woman to stand up to the short-sighted call for revenge against Afghanistan, it took two women to blow the whistle on the incompetence and corruption at the FBI and

No Sweat: The Next Generation of Leaders

By Mischa Gaus

United Students Against Sweatshops, the driving force behind campus efforts to oppose the sweatshops of the global apparel industry, consciously encourages women leaders and challenges gender issues as part of its work. The group aims to make the movement, not just a welcoming place for women, but also a source of their power.

Women leaders have been actively recruited and trained by the student-run organization, and women make up a majority of the group’s leadership, holding all three positions in its Washington headquarters. They organize national and international campaigns, factory visits and yearly conferences. In addition, women comprise three of the group’s five representatives to the Worker Rights Consortium board, responsible for several successful factory-monitoring initiatives.

USAS also holds a “women’s caucus”—one of

four alliance-building meetings along with those tackling race, sexuality and class—at its regional and national gatherings. The meetings ensure that such issues are highlighted within the organization. “Female leadership and the battle against sexism have been big priorities for USAS,” says Amber Gallup, the group’s programs and field coordinator. “I think that has been empowering for USAS women, so that they have felt confident and able to exercise their strong skills.”

For all that, those close to the organization say there are still problems. Within the day-to-day work at local chapters, gender roles often dictate who gets what task. “Girls are still socialized, more than men, to openly care for others and to

take upon themselves practical responsibilities,” Gallup says. This means women get more of the “drudge” work, but less of the credit—and that women’s leadership in the organization is probably a product of the same socialization. “These two types of socialization uniquely equip women both to get involved in social justice work, and take upon themselves the day-to-day practical and essential responsibilities that make an organization run.”

National office staffer Bhumika Muchhala, the group’s international programs coordinator, says it was unrealistic to expect any group to fully avoid such problems. She compares it to the difficulty the mostly white organization has making its particular style of activism attractive to non-white students at community colleges and historically black schools. ■

After 20 years working as a newspaper reporter, I ran for the Dallas City Council in 1998. Immediately after announcing my intention to run, I got a call from a TV reporter I'd known for years, who said my opponent was having a news conference that afternoon to release "bombshell" information about me that would derail my City Council bid. I will always remember that day as the day I went from being the hunter to the hunted. (By the way, there was a news conference, just no bombshell).

My election to the Council marked the first time in the history of the city that there was a female majority on the council. My hope would be that all

cities—not just the nation's largest—would exhibit this kind of inclusion. Women make for great politicians.

My best advice to women is to forget you're a woman. I have never given a thought to my gender, and it has served me well. Voters want honesty, integrity and hard work—they don't care if they get it from a man or a woman.

Women can hold leadership positions by simply running for them. But I find that the key to winning a leadership role is having strong convictions and an easily articulated reason to want to

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Laura Miller
Mayor of Dallas



be a leader. In my opinion, having goals and expressing them well, in as much detail as possible, is what people like to see in their leaders.

Enron. This point was argued by—who else?—Anita Hill, in a June 6 op-ed in the *New York Times*.

That was no coincidence, wrote Hill, now a professor at Brandeis University. She reminds us that Rowley, the high-ranking FBI agent, exposed the bureau's chronic missteps in a 13-page memo before the September 11 attack. And last August, Watkins tried in vain to warn the top brass at Enron that the company was about to sink under the weight of accounting and management misdeeds.

"Ms. Rowley and Ms. Watkins are two women who rose through the ranks of male-dominated institutions to become insiders," she noted. "Yet perhaps their experiences as women in traditionally male workplaces heightened their awareness of resistance to much needed change and deepened their commitment to making it happen."

It's not just having the job. It's what you do with it.

With less than 14 percent representation in Congress, can women really afford to limit the definition of leadership? They have to stretch beyond the Beltway and the City Council hearing room.

Women need to know, as African-Americans have already painfully learned, that they can opt out of the no-win game in which the media and other outsiders try to limit and define their leaders. Blacks don't have to, and don't, accept high-profile activists like Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton and Louis Farrakhan as the race's "true and only" leaders.

Women can find leadership right on the ground, in racially and economically diverse neighborhoods. These are the women who are bearing the brunt of this country's infinite list of unaddressed ills: educational inequality, poverty, substandard and unaffordable housing, a crippled health care system, crime and violence.

After more than a century, the women's movement still has not learned to capitalize on all of its assets. Since the '60s, the feminist movement has been out of sync with those on the

margins, from the civil rights movement to the battle over welfare reform. Women of color, and the poor and working poor, are still not consulted as equal partners, and relatively few are in leadership positions.

The think tanks, civic groups, associations and other institutions that claim to represent women raise money from them and call them to the rallies, but don't consult them on meaningful policy issues. The crossing guards, union reps, school board members, lower-level bureaucrats, and soccer and basketball moms are not at the table.

And, as in most segments of society, the voices of youth are valued for their commercial appeal, but not for participation. Research by the White House Project shows that 75 percent of young American women believe that having more women in office will improve the state of the nation. But the group also identified a "circular holding pattern: Young women think other young women should be in politics, but do not themselves want to join."

Thousands of young women in their twenties and thirties are already staffing and leading our nonprofit, community-based and



Jacqueline Lavinia Jackson, arrested on the island of Vieques in 2001.

Although I have held public office for six years, the 2001 legislative session was the most challenging and interesting of my political career. I have, throughout my career, advocated for progressive solutions to the problems that face North Dakota. I have endeavored to be a champion for family farmers, ranchers, rural communities, women, children, working people, veterans and others who, in my opinion, struggle at times to see the American dream.

On the morning of March 6, 2001, my daughter Kennedy was born. This, of course, taught me that personal experiences often transcend public life, even for public servants. Although I missed six days of the legislative session for her birth, I returned to the legislature as soon as possible, and Kennedy became a crucial part of my work in the legislature.

Kennedy and I were given every reasonable consideration. Fellow legislators looked after her on occasion, the minority leader allowed his office to serve as a nursery when needed, and legislators from

both parties supported our presence in the legislative chamber without hesitation.

Of course, that is how it should be. The logistics of holding public office for a woman are very different than for a man, but that should not in any way deter a woman, mother or not, from public service. If we as a society are to answer questions about education, childcare, health care, equity in the workplace and the economy, not just for women, but for all citizens, we must accept that having and raising children is an integral part of the human experience.

The lesson I learned from this experience, other than the joy of being a mother, was that the future of women in public service depends on our ability to accept women in public life. That acceptance must not be limited to women in retirement, or women

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State Rep. April Fairfield D-North Dakota



who have chosen not to have children. Perhaps that acceptance must begin with ourselves. Mothers and women of all ages and situations should enter public service without fear. What better way could there be for our children to learn about civic responsibility? What better way could there be for policy-makers to remind themselves that their work is important, not only today, but for coming generations?

social service organizations. The movement must make a priority of getting these younger women into the pipelines of influence.

New leadership can emerge from the unexpected, and can be defined by the moment. Last year, Jacqueline Lavinia Jackson, the wife of Jesse Jackson, was arrested in a peaceful protest against the Navy's bombing exercises on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. She was strip-searched and held in solitary confinement for several days. Some of her own family were shocked at her decision to join the protesters. For decades she had stayed behind closed doors in her Chicago home, raising the children of her globe-trotting spouse, virtually invisible to the press and public.

Critics said she was trying to deflect heat from the scandal over her husband's recent admission to an extramarital affair with an aide, a liaison that produced an out-of-wedlock child. But by stepping out, she helped to aid black-Latino relations and draw world-wide attention to the bombardment of American citizens.

And if she never marches again, Jackson's stand in Vieques will encourage other women at home, just as Rosa Parks became a heroine for oppressed black workers across the nation by simply sitting down on that Montgomery, Alabama, bus 46 years ago.

New leadership also defies the old assumptions. Washington is still agog over the announcement in April that Karen Hughes, the most senior woman aide ever to an American president, was resigning her post to return to Texas with her husband and teen-age son.

Whatever her politics, the departure of this high-profile advisor is a loss for women. And it may be the first time a Washington heavy uttered that old saw about leaving a plum job to "spend more time with the family"—in truth. When the men in high positions say it, it means they really either got fired or pushed out in a power play. Then they promptly depart for the golf course, where they wait for the next post, courtesy of the old-boy network. But Hughes' decision appears to be the real thing, and it validates the working women who choose taking care of family over taking care of the boss, and don't want to apologize for it.

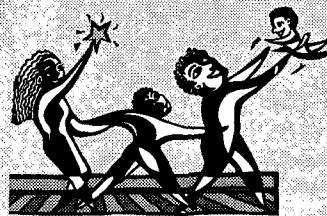
That new leadership must arm itself, in as many ways as it can, against those long-neglected and life-and-death issues for women and families: the environment, the perils of the child welfare and criminal justice systems, the future of welfare reform, and access to affordable housing and health care.

And next time, that new leadership won't leave Barbara Lee standing alone. ■

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Never Again—and Again and Again

By Ian Williams

Samantha Power's *A Problem from Hell* is an eloquent and detailed testimony to why we should not let our government stand on the sidelines when faced with crimes against humanity.

A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide

By Samantha Power

Basic Books

610 pages, \$30

Power chronicles the American government's responses to genocide, from the Turkish massacres of Armenians in World War I through the Holocaust and on to modern times, with Cambodia, Iraq, Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo.

The title comes from Warren Christopher's famous description of Bosnia as "a problem from hell," which he said resulted from "hatred" that was "centuries old." With suitable encouragement, the media began to trace the problem back to the split of the Roman Empire—several hundred years before the first Slav hit the Balkans—as if, maybe, there's something in the water there.

What Christopher really meant was that Bosnia was a problem from hell for the Clinton administration, with sympathy for the victims and its public commitments to stop the killings weighed against the president's determination to avoid any American casualties. Above all, on this and other occasions, Christopher squirmed to avoid using the "G-word"—genocide—which would have triggered obligations to act under the Genocide Convention.

Power details the efforts by a Polish lawyer named Raphael Lemkin to launch the Genocide Convention to define "a crime without a name," as Churchill had characterized the reports coming from Occupied Europe. "Sovereignty cannot be construed as the

right to kill millions of innocent people," Lemkin concluded, in what seems to be a self-evident truth but, in fact, flies in the face of received legal doctrine across the political spectrum.

Lemkin's campaign had been largely inspired by the Turkish massacres of Armenians. Following the Holocaust, of which he had early evidence, Lemkin fought tenaciously for the convention at the new United Nations. In 1948, with its passage, the world gave the concept of genocide a far more inclusive definition—"[acts] committed with the intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group"—than later alleged by those who would pooh-pooh events in the Balkans because "only" thousands were killed.



A forensic expert walks through rows of plastic bags containing the remains of 3,500 Bosnian Muslims, mostly from Srebrenica, at an identification center in Tuzla.

Ironically, despite the shouts of "Never Again" from all corners, the Senate did not ratify the Genocide Convention for almost 40 years—and then only in a desperate attempt by the Reagan administration to cover up the president's gaffe in laying wreaths for SS soldiers in the Bitburg Cemetery.

Power points out the awesome responsibility of the media in rousing public opinion. But she is candid about the awful way so much of the press has carried out that task. For example, the U.S. networks averaged 30 seconds per month of coverage of

What is a river of corpses abroad in comparison with poll ratings at home?

Cambodia while the Khmer Rouge tortured and killed their way through any citizens suspected of having an IQ above subnormal. The response of the U.S. government was to fight to keep the genocidal regime in its U.N. seat for some years after the Vietnamese had driven them from power.

Similarly, after Saddam Hussein's gassing of Kurdish insurgents in the late '80s, the same Republican right that recently returned to the bully pulpit of Washington was then derailing efforts to sanction Saddam for his genocidal activities. They denied the evidence, and materially and diplomatically encouraged him to continue his war against Iran, gas notwithstanding. The U.S. delegation—whose recent brief absence from the U.N. Human Rights Commission was considered such a blow to the organization's credibility—refused to support European allies who called for a Human Rights rapporteur against Iraq in 1989.

When not denying the evidence, another common trope from the U.S. government is to emphasize the enormity of resources needed for intervention. As Power demonstrates, history has tended to disprove such fearful hyperbole. In most recent cases, any signs of firmness—diplomatic and economic, let alone military—would have saved thousands of lives at little cost.

Perhaps one of the most shameful manifestations of invertebracy was the Clinton administration's stalling of reinforcements and resupply for the tiny, beleaguered U.N. force in Rwanda—which still managed to save thousands,

even as Madeleine Albright (then U.S. representative at the United Nations) tried to strangle its supply lines rather than ask Congress for a few million dollars for peacekeeping. The lesson to all future perpetrators was clear: Mount your main massacres off-camera, except for a few showy killings of peacekeepers, to ensure no one will intervene.

Of course, even when governments do right, they manage to mess it up. Power mentions the final NATO air assault that accompanied the joint Bosnian Croat offensive against the Serbs. It showed that intervention could have been relatively painless and speedy 200,000 corpses earlier. But what she does not mention is that as soon as Bosnian forces were on the verge of taking more territory than earlier negotiations with Milosevic had envisaged, the air support was withdrawn. Srebrenica and Sarajevo notwithstanding, the Bosnian Serbs still kept their ethnically cleansed half of Bosnia.

In Kosovo, Power demonstrates there was every justification for intervention; she reminds those who wondered about the body count that many of those missing bodies turned up under police yards in Serbia. Even so, there was enough dubiety about both motives and methods to sully the first direct interference to stop genocide ever undertaken by the United States and NATO. The high-flying planes sacrificed bombing accuracy not to protect the pilots so much as the politicians, whose polls would suffer if they were downed. Clinton also obtusely discounted the only option that Milosevic feared, by announcing in advance that he would not put in ground forces.

Unaccountably, Power omits East Timor, or even the earlier pogroms in Indonesia, from her chronicle. There, the problem wasn't Washington's insouciance in the face of genocide—but active complicity in its fomentation. Neither does she waste much time on the left as a force in these developments. But here she is correct. While far too many on the left were denouncing imaginary hegemonic and opportunistic interventions on the part of Washington, Power knows that the administrations were doing all they could to stay out. She concludes: "The U.S. record is not one of failure—it is one of success. U.S. officials worked the system, and the system worked."

Intervention was avoided, and what is a river of corpses abroad in comparison with poll ratings at home?

The problem with such bargains is that we all pay the price in the end. "The last century shows that the walls that the U.S. tries to build around genocidal societies almost inevitably shatter," Power observes. In other words, ignoring genocide is not only immoral, it is impractical.

Carrying the torch in this field has not been the left, but human rights groups

and activists across the world who have had the courage and tenacity to belabor all regimes that abuse their citizens. Their work has led to the small harbingers of global accountability: the arrest of Pinochet, the trial of Milosevic and the establishment of an International Criminal Court.

A world where Henry Kissinger and Ariel Sharon have to check with their lawyers at the same time as their travel agents is one that is surely improving. ■



Ben Yahzee, the young Navajo codetalker, must be kept out of enemy hands "at all costs."

Love Is a Battlefield

By Joshua Rothkopf

With its deep bows to Monument Valley and other distant frontiers, its choked-off military men struggling with codes of honor and unforgiving environments, *Windtalkers* could have easily unspooled under the name John Ford.

Windtalkers
Directed by John Woo

Such comparisons should not be made lightly or uncritically. This is big, blustery "American" moviemaking of a purity that, as with Ford's, relies on an undeniable simplification of events—in this case, the Marines' wartime exploits of Navajo-born soldiers, deployed to the Pacific theater as speakers of an unbreakable code, their own obscure language.

The unheralded story of these crucial "codetalkers" (the actual title is a bit of poetic license) is a weighty one, and director John Woo, an action genius, tamps down his celebrated slo-mo gun dancing considerably, as if yielding to several kinds of gravity. This may come as a disappointment to those who respect Woo as a choreographer and little else—but hopefully a revelation, too. From where else, if not great passion and greater betrayal, could such reserves of violence (and ammo) be unleashed? Chow Yun-Fat, Woo's heavily-lidded surrogate, was a lover *and* a fighter; those tense barrel-to-temple showdowns he often found himself sweating through were Woo's shorthand for the double-edged nature of devotion and heartbreak.

Windtalkers, which strives foremost to be a study in loyalties, should prove a test case for disbelievers. This is not to say Woo avoids a hefty body count, or even

serious faults, just not on his detractors' grounds of shallowness or, more unfairly, camp. (Woo shed irony long before it became fashionable.) The drama gathers solemnly in reverent counterstrokes: Ben Yahzee (Adam Beach), a Navajo recruit, boards the bus for Camp Pendelton just as Joe Enders (Nicolas Cage), an order-bound squad leader, seems hopelessly pinned down in a bloody standoff on the Solomon Islands. Joe's entire unit gets wiped out, but he survives: battle-scarred, hospitalized and consumed with guilt.

To call what Cage is doing here an actor's plunge into despair may be putting too cheery a spin on it. He somehow has managed to make not just his eyes, but his whole face appear hollow. (The transformation may have you yearning for the homicidal dementia he brought to Woo's *Face/Off*, where at least he had the benefit of being bipolar.) But the dour choice is a sound one for such a dutiful machine as Joe, whose scary sense of discipline has taken the lives of all his friends.

His superiors recognize this by giving him a particularly loathsome reassignment after he fakes a full recovery: the protection of Ben, the young Navajo, with additional secret orders to guard the code "at all costs"—an implied directive to kill his charge before letting him fall into enemy hands. The two meet coolly, the little war already raging inside the big war, and soon take off to storm the island of Saipan.

It's a bold premise to hang a picture on, especially in light of the Marines' continued denial that such illegal kill orders were ever issued. (Admissions have come from other official sources, including Congress in its face-saving bill honoring the Navajo contribution more than 50 years later.) *Windtalkers* makes the most of it, provocatively becoming more of a comment on America's homegrown racism than any foreign invasion—a postmodern Western with cowboys, Indians and the Japanese, signifying not so much an adversary as a force of nature. At one point, the unit even takes heavy shelling from "friendly" fire, spurring heroic acts from both Ben and Joe.

We may not see such subversive impulses in our war movies again anytime soon (Woo's release was delayed from last fall), but audiences may find one line of dialogue, bitterly voiced by Joe and then repeated later, bracing in today's multi-

plex: "Yeah, I'm a good fuckin' Marine." Not your everyday sentiment from the Greatest Generation fighting the Good War. As Joe's self-loathing finds its larger

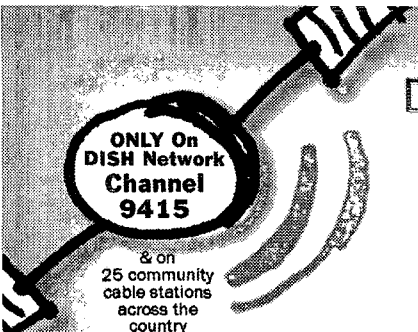
Why is Ben, born on the reservation and disenfranchised in every sense at home, so damn patriotic?

institutional target, *Windtalkers* thrillingly flirts with revisionism.

Still, such readings only go so far before jamming in narrower passages; the script, credited to John Rice and Joe Batteer, wants to solve too much too soon. Coarsening the appealing complexity between fresh-faced Ben and sullen Joe (whose secret orders make him mysteriously remote to overtures of friendship) are a raft of standard-issue scenes straight from the old Hollywood battle plan: foot soldiers suddenly awakening to

epiphanies of the Navajo-are-people-too variety; or a painfully symbolic jam session between bodyguard and codetalker on harmonica and windflute. For all that manufactured guff, it comes as a shame that the most obvious question is never addressed: Why is Ben, born on the reservation and disenfranchised in every civil sense at home, so damn patriotic?

I'm being hard on *Windtalkers* only because it could have been that much more. In fairness, its corrective liberalism warrants the same suspicion as *Black Hawk Down*'s phony jingoism. But go back to Woo's strong suit—and know beforehand that these are his most brutal action sequences to date—and you'll see what elevates him over Ridley Scott. One director is a remote strategist, safe in his metal bunker, flitting imperially from one interchangeable hell to the next. The other strides the battlefield on a horse, traveling great distances only to see his men die and to weep for them. Woo reminds us that wars are fought by people; this is what makes his film great. ■



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The Shadow Knows

By Evan Endicott

In 1996, Josh Davis, a white kid from suburban California, dropped an album that redefined hip hop music. Titled *Endtroducing*, the mostly instrumental LP expanded the scope of the DJ's arsenal to

The Private Press
DJ Shadow
MCA

previously unimagined proportions. In addition to the '70s soul, funk and jazz records DJs rely on to create new grooves, Davis pillaged sci-fi soundtracks, prog rock, new age, classical and anything else that inspired him. Leaving no slab of vinyl unturned, Davis unearthed an entirely new species of hip hop.

Endtroducing's sound wasn't its only visionary turn. For his on-wax alter-ego, Davis selected the moniker DJ Shadow. At a time when rap music was dominated by pimps, gangsters and overblown egos, Shadow shifted the emphasis back to the music. Without an MC, and only the hisses and pops of dusty records to mold his message, Shadow bared his soul with an honesty unique among his peers.

After an interminable wait (and a few side projects), Shadow returns with *The Private Press*, a difficult album of technically ambitious tunes that rewards repeated listening. His most reticent work to date, *Private Press* invites speculation where it avoids explication. Obviously, the specter of *Endtroducing* loomed large over the *Private Press* sessions, and the resulting album chronicles Shadow's attempts to evade, confront and destroy his past.

"Fixed Income" introduces the album proper, juxtaposing a tense, off-time bass

line with shards of tremoloed surf guitar and delicate harmonics. The sound is vintage Shadow, soulful and hypnotic. It's the funk that's missing, replaced with a dissonance that hints at something sinister lurking beneath the surface.

Following a brief flurry of sardonic vocal samples, "Walkie Talkie" attempts to ease the tension with a dash of humor. As an emphatic voice asserts, "I'm a bad mutha-fuckin' DJ," Shadow frantically slices and dices on the wheels of steel. There is a parallel between the placement of these first songs and the start of *Endtroducing*, which placed the somber opener "Building



DJ Shadow isn't dead. He's free.

Steam" next to the DJ-as-superhero party tune "The Number Song." It's as if Davis is trying to recreate *Endtroducing's* formula, but the recipe is incomplete.

"Six Days" and the two-part "Mongrel ... Meets His Maker" are stunning updates of the sound Davis developed as part of the production team U.N.K.L.E. "Mongrel" is Shadow at his haunting best. As a repeated guitar figure and complementary synth line create a foreboding atmosphere, spacey swells and ghostly cries float through the mix like ghosts in the machine. But even this piece suffers from sonic claustrophobia.

It's as if Shadow doesn't trust the material enough to let it breathe—sputtering

machinery, ringing phones and white noise are ever present, emulating the somnolent hum of an opiate high. It's a shame because the song's starkest moment is also its most powerful: the raw ache of a solitary piano, weaving its melancholy melody across the hissing vinyl.

If the previous songs revisit Shadow's past, "Right Thing/GDMFSOB" offers a possibility for his future: dancefloor technician. Over drum machine patterns, the track morphs into a high-powered dose of acid-techno, replete with squelches, square-wave synths and sweaty rhythms.

The technical tour de force "Monosyllabic" suggests a more radical direction. Using a single five-second loop, Shadow extracts minute pieces of sonic information and arranges them on a micro-level to cre-

ate a seven-minute odyssey for aficionados of so-called intelligent dance music. Lovers of Shadow's organic approach to electronic music will surely shudder to imagine an entire album like this of labored laptop workouts.

Having proved himself capable of new sounds, Shadow spends the duration of *Private Press* resolving the tension such radical changes create. "Blood on the Motorway" begins with a funeral dirge, signifying that the old Shadow has finally been laid to rest. The highlight of the album, "Blood," is somber and celebratory at once; synthesizers and

chimes evoke the ascension of the spirit, and for the first time, the music ensconces the listener in warmth and beauty as well as sadness.

Is DJ Shadow dead? Far from it. Despite its flaws, *The Private Press* has liberated him. "You Can't Go Home Again," the album's closer, sums it up best when it offers, "Here's a story about being free." With its new wave bass line, Simon & Garfunkel guitar and driving drums, "Home" evokes an open road—a future of unlimited possibility. The icy impenetrability of earlier tracks melts away, revealing joy and optimism beneath. Somewhere in the shadows, Josh Davis is smiling. ■

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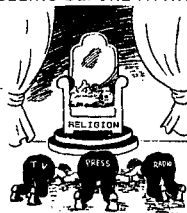
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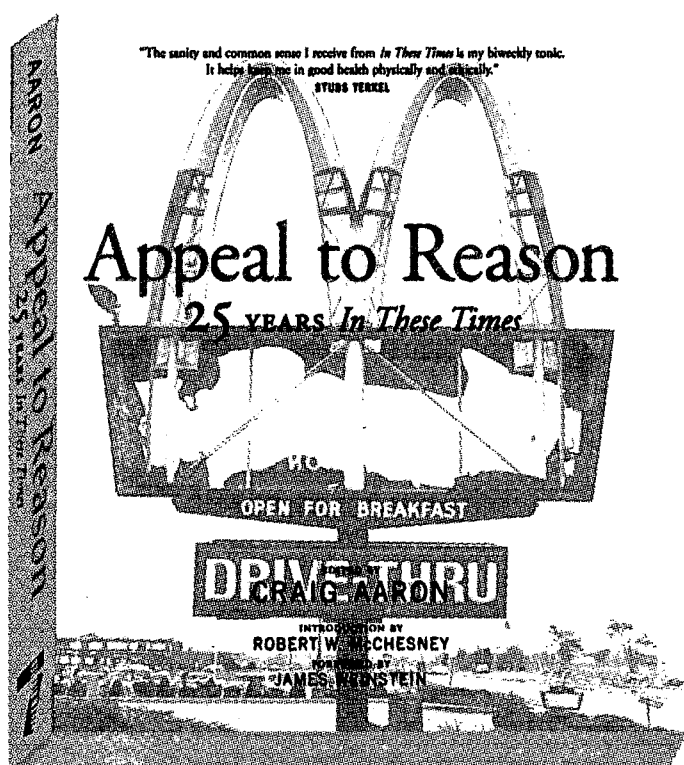
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